

**BAUHAUS DREAM-HOUSE:
ARCHITECTURAL EDUCATION IN THE AGE OF
IMAGE REPRODUCTION**

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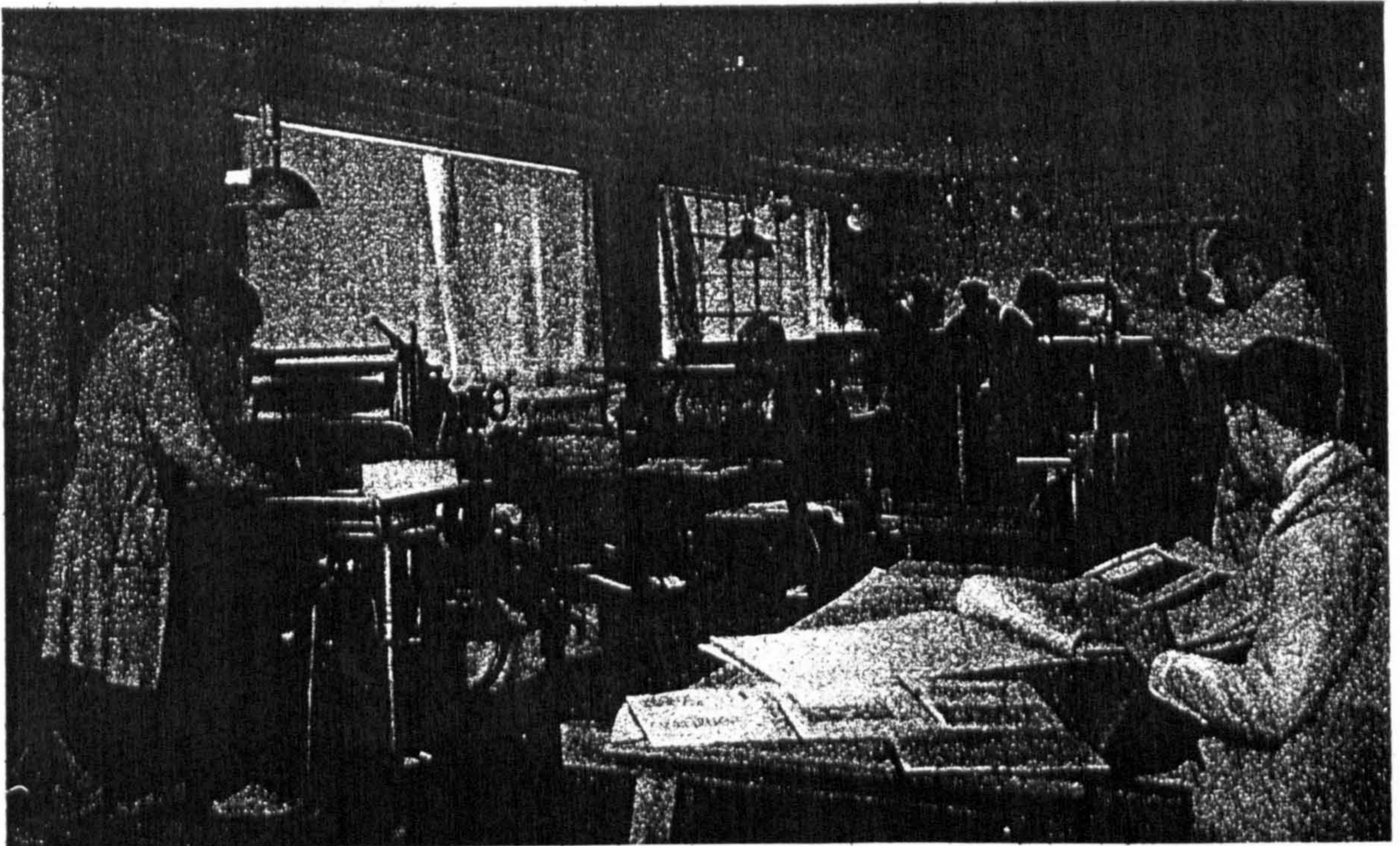
...very little [attention] has been paid to its [architecture's] relation to the new means of communication, the relation of architecture to the culture of the consumer age. Ironically, the very idea of the 'machine age' which served the period as a symbolic concept, was largely induced by the advertising industry. Architecture's relationship to the mechanisms of that industry needs to be analyzed in order to establish architecture's role in that period.

Beatriz Colomina (1994, 156, my brackets)

ABSTRACT

The Bauhaus typography workshop, 1929, was a significant event in the history of design. It was a workshop where the students of the Bauhaus school, under the guidance of the master, created a series of typographic works that were both functional and aesthetically pleasing. The workshop was held in the Bauhaus building in Weimar, Germany, and it was one of the most important workshops of the Bauhaus movement. The workshop was a place where the students learned the principles of typography and how to apply them in their work. The workshop was a place where the students learned the principles of typography and how to apply them in their work.

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0.1 Bauhaus typography workshop, 1929

ABSTRACT

An internalised reproduction, circulation and consumption of images dominates contemporary architectural education and denies its function as an ideological practice within media culture. The dissertation examines the broader historical and cultural context of image production in architectural education. It focuses on the Bauhaus, the first school adopting mass-media to construct an international identity.

The dissertation draws from semiological, economic, psychoanalytic and sociological sources to explain the role of image reproduction in economic practices and gender identities at the Bauhaus. It combines Jean Baudrillard's theory of simulation, Walter Benjamin's theory of the dreaming collective, Marxian interpretations of Fordist and post-Fordist economic theory, Louis Althusser's theory of ideology, Magali Sarfatti Larson's analyses of professionalism, Pierre Bourdieu's work on cultural capital, and finally Kaja Silverman's interpretation of Freudian and Lacanian theories of masculine formation through fantasy.

In the dissertation's historical analysis, Baudrillard's theory of simulation explains architectural education as sign production, from the medieval Guild, through the seventeenth century Académie Royale d'Architecture, to the nineteenth century École Polytechnique and then the Bauhaus at the threshold of media culture in the twentieth century. The theoretical framework is then used to examine Bauhaus activity through the 1938

catalogue of the school's exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in New York.

This framework constructs a new critical history of the Bauhaus. It links the reproduction of images at the school to utopian fantasy, economic production, ideological reproduction and patriarchal relations. It reveals the Bauhaus as an ideological apparatus deploying images as simulacra, political symbols, post-Fordist products and icons of gender to construct a new belief system and briefly enacting, through its industrial and social practices, important changes to economic and gender relations. This unfinished project establishes the importance of the Bauhaus to contemporary education and direction for further research and practice.

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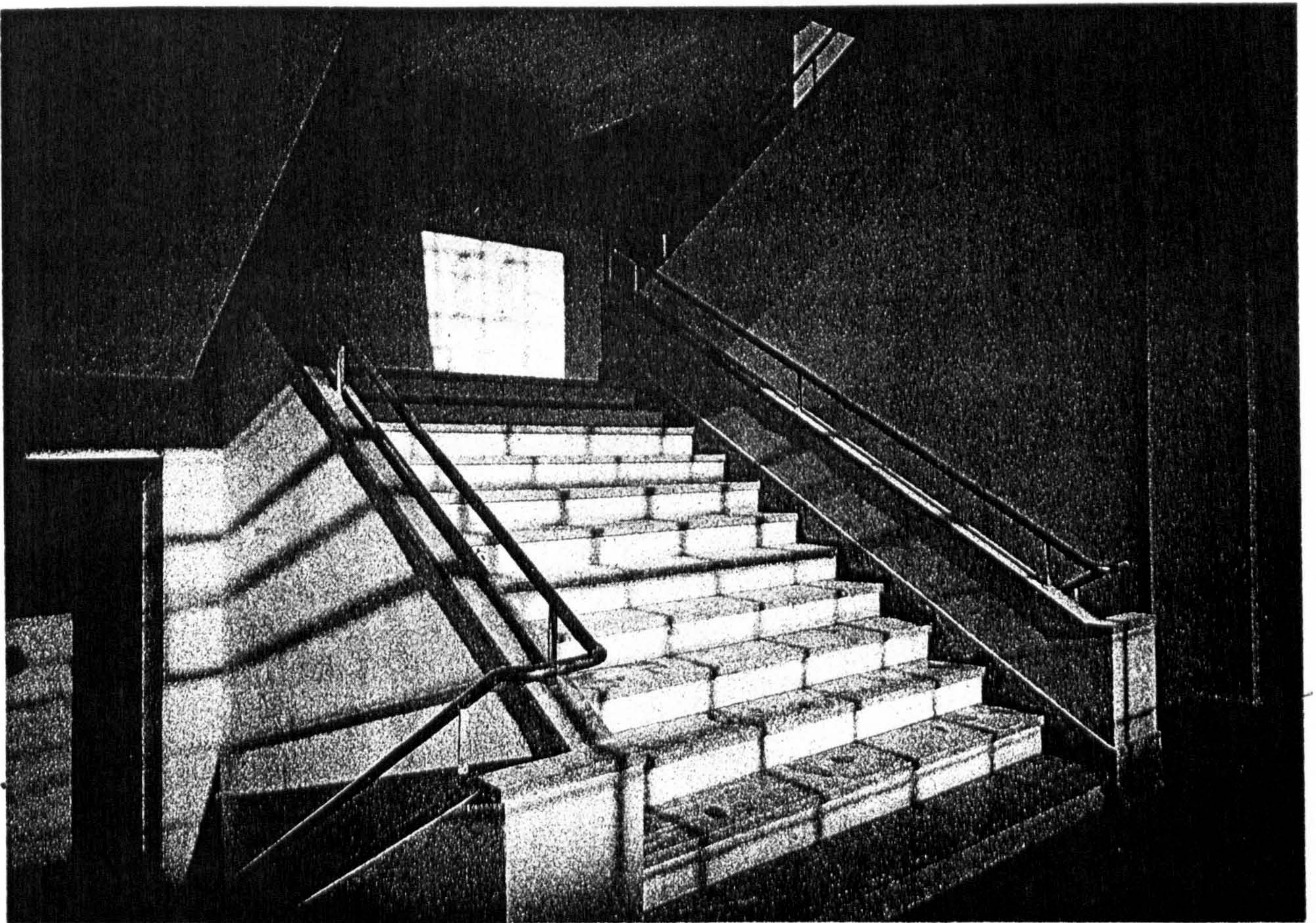
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1.1 T. Lux Feininger, Bauhaus staircase with members of the weaving workshop

1.0 Architectural Education in the Age of Image Reproduction

Our motto must therefore be: Reform of consciousness not through dogmas, but through analysing the mystical consciousness which is unclear to itself ... Then it will transpire that the world has long been dreaming of something it can acquire if only it becomes conscious of it.

Karl Marx Letter to A. Ruge (Tucker 1972, 10)

Although this text is a doctoral dissertation elaborated over a period of five years, I have been interested in its subject matter ever since I became an architectural student over twenty years ago. That is because the subject of this dissertation is architectural education. Architectural education is, for the majority of architects, the first and most formative encounter with the knowledge base and values of the discipline. My own architectural education became and remains a key influence on my practice as an architect and teacher; its values are therefore of practical and theoretical significance to my life.

In architectural practice, a large part of the architect's service today consists of image-making for the construction industry, tourism and commerce. The elevation of architectural design above 'mere' building has, since the Renaissance, conferred higher value—not only on the building itself, but also on the architect. Thus whilst architects have been relatively happy to allow other experts in the construction industry to create or claim new areas of technical knowledge and have often also ceded the social program of

architecture, they have fought passionately to retain the apparent privilege of the image-making part of design expertise.

It seems that architecture as image production is becoming increasingly important to architectural careers. Magazines most eagerly read and respected by students, such as *Assemblage* or *Architectural Design*, often contain projects whose final destination is not the building site but the gallery, cyberspace or the magazine itself. 'Success through reproducibility' is also important to practising architects, who increasingly prepare documentation of their buildings as 'packages for reproduction' in books and magazines. This is economically advantageous to both architects and publishers; journalists need no longer visit buildings or commission photographers; architects get free publicity. Publication confers select architects, magazines and books with status. For academics, it forms the central route to promotion.

However, image reproduction also replicates stereotypes limited by the technology of the medium, the preferences of architectural journalists and the inherited beliefs of the architectural establishment. In addition, the focus on the aesthetic reproducibility of images by-passes architectural issues with low image value such as technological, economic or programmatic innovation within the building process. Such de-socialisation and dematerialisation of buildings legitimise lucrative global forms of practice where architects need never understand the complexities of building commissions in different geographical and cultural locations. The repetition of a narrow range of formal architectural vocabularies through exhibition

and publication also leaves intact an illusive self-image of architectural autonomy and preserves an untenable, fictional, stable identity for architects.

Yet within other types of architectural practice the self-image of autonomy is being challenged by the constraints posed by construction codes, financing structures, fee competition and continuing public criticism of built work. An explosion of reproducible architectural imagery in film, television and magazines has created new consumers of architecture, who are increasingly sharing or laying claim to the authorship of architectural design.

Competition by new occupations claiming new areas of expert architectural knowledge such as imagineers, interior designers and animators has further undermined architects' claims to define, depict and orchestrate their version of reality through images. The demise of the architect's authority to control 'the real' has affected both education and the profession, leading to a loss of confidence within both spheres.

Architectural education, whose main task has traditionally been to prepare the student for the 'real' world (understood as practice centred on built work), has had its share of this practical and philosophical confusion. As schools are becoming aware of the importance of imagery in constructing powerful international reputations, a new and highly competitive educational economy based on image production and reproduction has emerged. End-of-year shows, catalogues and prospecti now attract a significant proportion of precious educational funds and time because in a competitive market they are crucial in attracting good students and staff.

Such publicity simply adds to the plethora of reproductions available through other media. The mass-reproduction of architectural images through film, television, publication and the web has changed the perception of architecture itself. The public too experiences architecture through media reproductions. As reality has imploded into representation it is, to borrow the term from Jean Baudrillard (1981), transforming architecture into a 'simulacrum'. There is no longer a belief in a fundamental reality of architecture to which architects, educators, students and the public can refer.

The emergence of the image economy and the associated loss of consensus about the reality of architecture has led the work of many high profile architecture schools in the USA and the UK to withdraw into a safe new academicism. Focusing on drawing as an end in itself, such academicism has ignored the diversity of social, political and economic issues emerging in other disciplines and everyday life outside the academy. This has further eroded the fading consensus between architects and the public.

However, the loss of certainty in architecture has also led to a positive re-examination of the discipline. In architectural education the end of 'the real' has exposed as myth hitherto fundamental modernist claims of truth such as the generation of form through function and the honesty of structural expression. Instead, these have been shown as historically and culturally constructed, with specific economic and social interests, and therefore contestable and open to change. The profession's self-image has also lost some of its authority—it has been shaken by criticisms of its class, gender

and race bias. Whilst the impetus for these criticisms comes from broader political and cultural changes, the mass-reproduction of images has helped to identify alternative architectural forms and practices.

The culture of simulation and the mass-reproduction of images is changing the architectural discipline. It gives rise to four key concerns which I have about the current state of architectural education and practice and therefore sets the broad context for this dissertation. I hope that in addressing these concerns this dissertation will help to clarify my practice as an educator and architect in the age of image reproduction.

My first concern is that contemporary architectural education has not welcomed the full range of possibilities created by the mass-reproduction of the image. Architecture schools have focused largely on the production and circulation of images through a narrow range of formal practices—images produced for consumption through exhibitions, publications and cyberspace—not on the potential for social, economic and spatial organisation offered by new forms of communication. Thus, for example, as many artists from the seventies onwards have used the political potential of mass-produced imagery to criticise and step outside the autonomy and élitism of the gallery system and communicate with new audiences, architects have used the new cultural status of the image to produce 'works of art' and retreat back to the gallery. Models of teaching centred on mass-production and consumption of architectural signs are rare, and are legitimate only if they are located within a narrow range of formal types recognisable as high art. 'High art' architects are primarily thought of as

aesthetes whilst 'community' architects are stereotyped (Cook 1983, 24) as 'politicos who anyhow couldn't draw'. There is little development of critical practices using architectural mass-imagery. Work with the architectural image remains the province of a small and privileged segment of architectural education and is supported by an equally small and privileged segment of global architectural production. When mass-imagery enters the academy, it is often dismissed as 'not architecture'. Élitism characterises architectural image production across the educational spectrum.

My second concern is that architectural education, like the profession and the public, depends on an uncritical consumption of architectural images in an unconscious 'dream-state'. In architectural magazines, for example, the reader flicks in a distracted manner through a succession of photographic reproductions and absorbs their narrow range of stereotypes, usually associated with 'high' architecture. This passive process reinforces inherited values without understanding or challenging them. Similarly, unconscious and uncritical consumption of architectural images by the public occurs through popular home decorating magazines, television programmes and films, reinforcing another narrow range of stereotypes associated with 'low' architecture. Their historical and political production remains beyond consciousness. Architectural images become depoliticised just at the moment when their effects are most powerful and ideological. Architectural education is not acknowledging the importance of image consumption and has no critical consumerist strategies to counter such passivity. The comfort of unconsciously consuming architectural stereotypes has made it more, not

less difficult for the public, architects, educators and students to understand the role of image production within an information-based economy

My third concern is that the curricula of most schools of architecture still rely on the nineteenth century categorisation of architectural knowledge into design, technology, theory and professional practice. Yet the culture of simulation has brought new areas of interdisciplinary expertise related to architecture. For example, construction management, property development, building use analysis, community architecture, environmental assessment, imagineering and electronic visualisation have all emerged from the increasing division of labour made possible by a globalising consumer economy. Architectural educators and students have been slow to grasp the relationship between image production and global capital, foregoing exploration of new practices in such areas. Interdisciplinarity is the buzz-word within education generally but little has fed into structural revisions of the architecture curriculum.

My fourth concern is that unconscious and uncritical absorption in architectural imagery has led teachers and students to ignore the influence of the media on the self-image of the architectural profession itself. Mass-availability of architectural imagery should provide material for expression of a wide range of desires, visions and cultural identities. It should provide greater access to architectural expertise and make entry and survival in the profession easier. This is clearly not the case. The demographic cross-section of the architectural profession in Britain and North America shows that a diversity of gender, religion, sexuality and race is a myth. Women

and in particular ethnic minorities continue to be under-represented. In the UK, their numbers in the profession have not grown beyond ten percent in the last ten years. The statistics for ethnic minorities are even more woeful. Architectural education has few effective solutions other than hotly disputed affirmative action procedures. Architectural practice has no strategies at all. The culture of simulation appears to be having little effect on the identity of the architect.

In general, I feel that architects are ignoring, or reacting defensively rather than critically or opportunistically to cultural changes emerging from the culture of image reproduction. As an educator, I believe in the potential of education to imagine and effect change in the future—though not necessarily under conditions of its own choosing. I believe that students, educators and architects should use the architectural opportunities inherent in media culture. I believe that we should recognise and challenge the political and economic structures underlying architectural education and practice. I believe that the inclusion of larger constituencies should reform the architectural discipline and propose a redefined professional model. I believe that all these ambitions are important and that image reproduction can play a part in realising them. However, belief alone is not enough.

These concerns have therefore led to the research in this dissertation. Significant research on the economic, social and cultural implications of the mass-media exists in the fields of art, literary theory, philosophy, cultural theory, sociology and economics. In architecture there is little published material. Although already in 1932 Alfred Barr, the Director of the Museum

of Modern Art in New York claimed (Hitchcock et al., 1932) in his introduction to the MoMA catalogue for the International Style exhibition that '[e]xpositions and exhibitions have perhaps changed the character of American architecture of the last forty years more than any other factor', only a few architectural historians and theorists in the last thirty years (Miller Lane 1968, Colomina 1994) have acknowledged the relationship between the emergence of architectural modernism and the emergence of the mass media. There are no significant texts that examine the broader historical, cultural, political and economic issues underlying image reproduction in architecture. I find this very strange given that we live in a post-industrial, information-based culture and economy where images are a central part of the construction of reality.

In this context it is also strange that architectural education, which has since its emergence in the seventeenth century focused on the production of images and not buildings, is not well-documented. Architectural education should be ideally poised to deal with the culture of simulation. Yet with some exceptions newly emerging texts on architectural education have been national histories (Crinson and Lubbock, 1994), collections of short essays (Dutton 1991, Pollak 1993), magazine articles (*Journal of Architectural Education*) or books that contain chapters or sections on education (Kostof 1977). Architectural education is still a fragmented field of study.

The architectural profession has received more attention, primarily from historians (Kostof 1977, Saint 1983) and sociologists (Blau 1975, Cuff 1991, Gutman 1981, Schön 1983, 1985). Like the more theoretically

articulate sociological texts, the histories have replicated forms of scholarship traditional within their field, focusing their conclusions away from visual and spatial practices. This has continued the stereotypical divide between aesthetics and politics. A critical history of architectural education examined through image production has not yet been written. This dissertation is a contribution to such an endeavour.

The structure and focus of the dissertation derives from the four concerns I have identified. The four concerns result in the choice and sequence of theories I use in the dissertation.

The first theory addresses the relationship between representation and reality. The French post-structuralist philosopher and semiologist, Jean Baudrillard, provides a theoretical explanation for the separation and subsequent reintegration of art and life. Baudrillard's theory of simulation is important because it provides a historical and philosophical structure for understanding the cultural confusion and loss of meaning arising from the mass-reproduction of images. The second theory comes from the German cultural theorist, Walter Benjamin. Benjamin's theory of dream-imagery and the dreaming collective addresses the depoliticisation of culture through imagery. It is important because it explains the role of mass-production and consumption of architectural imagery in the reproduction of the social, political, economic and psychological status quo. The third theory consists of Marxian theories of economy and combines the work of a number of European economic and cultural theorists including Karl Marx, Eric Hobsbawm, and Rodney Hilton. These analyses are important because they

they provide a historical, class-based, economic and social explanation of image production. They categorically affirm that architectural images are in part the products of other disciplines and are not autonomous.

The fourth theory encompasses political, sociological and psychoanalytic explanations focusing on the construction of collective identity. This group of theories address my concern regarding the uncritical reproduction of professional values, including those of gender and race. Combining the work of a significant number of European and North American intellectuals, it touches on many fields and forms the most complex theoretical structure in the dissertation. It includes political theories of institutions and their belief systems, specifically those of Karl Marx and Louis Althusser. These are important because they relate the political construction and reproduction of ideology to economic value. The theories of North American sociologists, including Magali Sarfatti-Larson and the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu are important because they explain the unconscious reproduction of professional and educational identity through institutional structures. The theories of Sigmund Freud and Jacques Lacan are important because they provide a gendered interpretation of identity formation. Finally, the theory of the dominant fiction set out by the North American feminist psychoanalytic theorist Kaja Silverman is important because it links the reproduction of gender identity through film back to ideology. Together this fourth body of theory shows how institutions (the architectural profession and education) and its collective (practitioners, staff and students) use images unconsciously to reproduce themselves and their values.

The combined quadripartite theoretical framework is necessary because no single theory responds to all of my concerns at once. As my concerns arise at the intersections of architectural education with other cultural spheres, the theories come from outside the architectural discipline. They themselves also sometimes arise at interdisciplinary boundaries. Incorporating philosophical, post-structuralist, semiological, cultural, economic, sociological and psychoanalytic knowledge, I have combined them because together they explain how image reproduction in architectural education reproduces broader cultural values and therefore aligns architectural beliefs and institutions with those of more powerful social groups. The theoretical framework also affirms that critiques of disciplinary autonomy necessarily depend on material external to the discipline. However, it reflects and is limited by my Eurocentric learning and experience.

The objects of my dissertation also reflect my Eurocentric learning and experience. They consist of: first, western European architectural education from the Middle Ages onwards; and second, a key twentieth-century western-European educational institution, the Bauhaus. The first, the history of architectural education, is necessary to locate the second, the Bauhaus, within a broader historical perspective. History therefore provides a further tool with which I construct a clearer understanding of the limits and opportunities provided by image reproduction within design and architectural education.

The Bauhaus is central to the dissertation because it anticipated the problems and opportunities of the culture of simulation. The Bauhaus was the first

design school to embrace the reproducibility of objects and images and the potential of new media of communication. It experimented with new political, economic and technical structures arising from the image economy, rejecting the autonomy of artistic production and leading to a more open and experimental, if short-lived, identity for the designer.

Although the Bauhaus only existed from 1919 to 1933, I have chosen to examine its history until 1938, the year of the opening of the first Bauhaus exhibition in the USA. The catalogue of the 1938 exhibition, as a powerful representation of an educational institution through the mechanically reproducible image and text, forms the main vehicle for my argument. I use it to examine the role of image reproduction in the formation of an educational institution and show how the brevity and unique historical context of the Bauhaus experiment provided an intensity of focus which made it possible for the Bauhaus to anticipate key issues facing contemporary architectural education.

The dissertation divides into eleven chapters. Following this introduction, the next four chapters set out the quadripartite theoretical framework used later to analyse the Bauhaus. In Chapter 2, *Simulation*, I examine the historical genesis of communication society through Jean Baudrillard's theories of simulation and the commodity sign. I focus on his identification of the Bauhaus as pioneer of commodity aesthetics. In Chapter 3, *The Dreaming Collective*, I introduce Walter Benjamin's ideas of the dreaming collective and the dream-image to theorise the production of an architectural unconscious through the mass-media — photography, literature and film —

and architecture. I show that Benjamin's ideas of critical history, combining Marxian socio-economic theory and psychoanalysis, counter some of the problems of Baudrillardian simulation. I therefore use Benjamin's theory of history to inform the subsequent two chapters. In Chapter 4, *Economy*, I establish a Marxian economic history of simulation as the first step of a Benjaminian critique. In Chapter 5, *The Dominant Fiction*, I follow by examining the unconscious formation of individuals through institutions. I outline the role of institutions in Louis Althusser's theory of ideology, in Pierre Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital and the *habitus*, in Magali Sarfatti-Larson's theory of professionalism, in Jacques Lacan's writings on ego-formation and in Kaja Silverman's theory of the dominant fiction of masculinity.

In Chapter 6, *Orders of Education*, I turn to the history of architectural education. I argue that the history of architectural education is closely related to the history of architectural signification and follows Baudrillard's periodisation of the commodity sign. I present architectural education from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century as a series of regimes of sign production prefiguring the commodity aesthetics of the Bauhaus.

From Chapter 7 onwards, I turn to the Bauhaus itself. In Chapter 7, *Threshold of Simulation: The Bauhaus*, I establish the historical context of the school. I outline a history of the Weimar Republic, the school and the 1938 Bauhaus exhibition in New York. I end with a brief outline of the exhibition catalogue. The subsequent four chapters then examine the

Bauhaus through the four-part theoretical framework introduced in Chapters 2 to 5.

In Chapter 8, *Laboratory of Signs*, I follow Baudrillard and present the Bauhaus as pioneering the production of 'commodity signs' within design education. I argue that, despite the exclusion of history from the curriculum, the Bauhaus innovations were a response to broader historical change and were, in part, legitimised through a medieval educational model. In Chapter 9, *Dream house*, I show how the Bauhaus produced a dreaming collective through publication and began to transform dream-images into dialectical images through teaching. In Chapter 10, *Business*, I show how the Bauhaus began to translate dialectical images into economic and social practices. In Chapter 11, *Brotherhood*, I discuss the school's reproduction of an architectural unconscious through institutional ritual and examine its unsuccessful attempts to subvert the dominant fiction of masculinity underlying the architectural professional.

In Chapter 12 I discuss the Bauhaus legacy. I conclude that the Bauhaus produced images as simulacra, as political symbols, as post-Fordist products and as icons of gender relations, denying the autonomy of image production in architectural education. I argue that the Bauhaus 'dreamt' through its images, and briefly enacted through its industrial and social practices, subsequent major economic and gender transformations in architectural education.

Chapter 13 acts as the conclusion. I summarise the most important aspects of the Bauhaus legacy and evaluate the usefulness of the Bauhaus to contemporary architectural education. I identify further research necessary to transform the Bauhaus legacy into future educational practice.

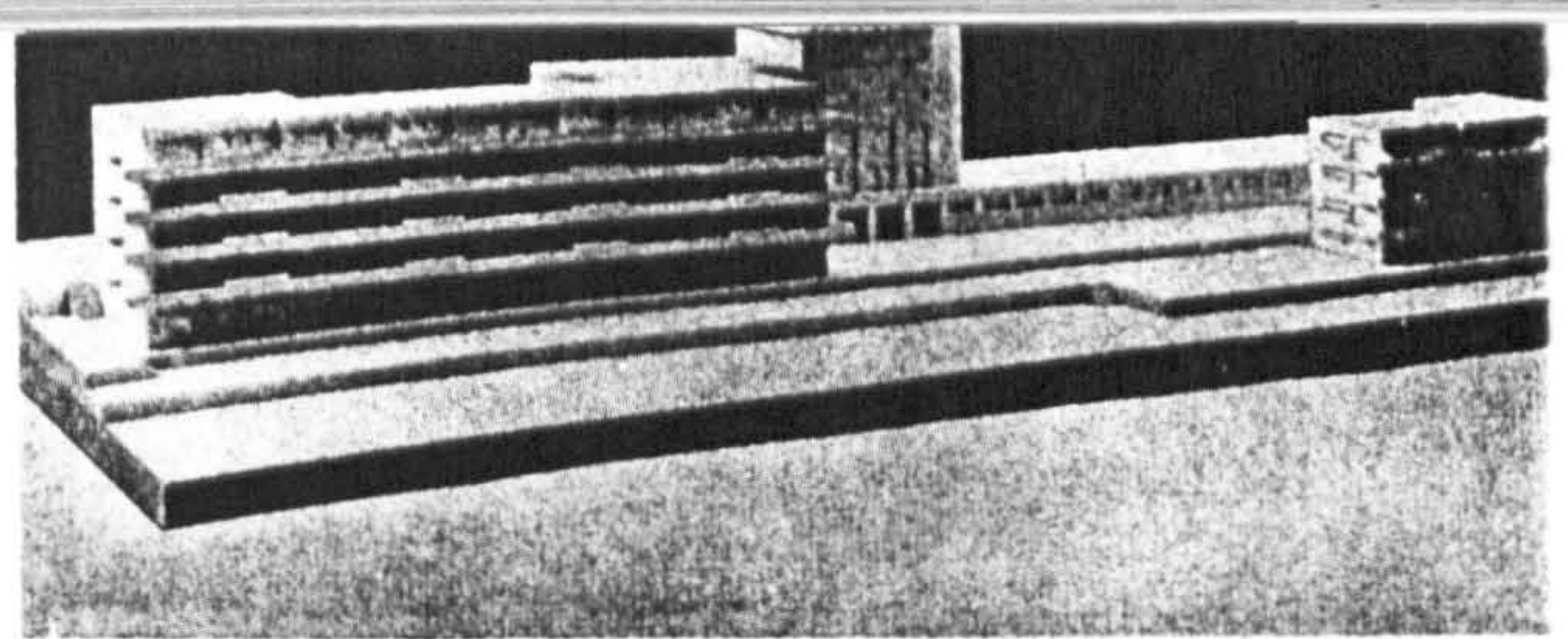
To focus my energy on the critique rather than the collation of historical material, I have chosen to study, wherever possible, well-documented educational institutions. I have mainly used primary evidence for my examination of the Bauhaus. I have relied on a mixture of primary and secondary evidence for the histories in Chapter 5. With a single exception (Benjamin, 1972), I have read all the theoretical material in the original (or the English translation of the original). I have, however, also relied on secondary interpretations in addition to the original text. Generally, in keeping with the breadth of the thesis, I have had to simplify its theoretical terms. Such generalisation and assumed 'transparency' between disciplines necessarily leads to a loss of authority, complexity and detail. I am aware of the problems but I hope that a shared, interdisciplinary language may make this text useful to a wider audience beyond architects themselves.

A comment also needs to be made about the role of illustrations in the dissertation. I have tried, wherever possible, to use the 1938 Bauhaus catalogue as a source for images. The text specifically refers to some of these to illustrate key points. These illustrations can be called 'dialectical images'—whose meaning is directed by me through critical analysis in the text. The larger proportion of the illustrations, however, acts as a sequence of 'dream-images'—depictions of Bauhaus objects, people and events that

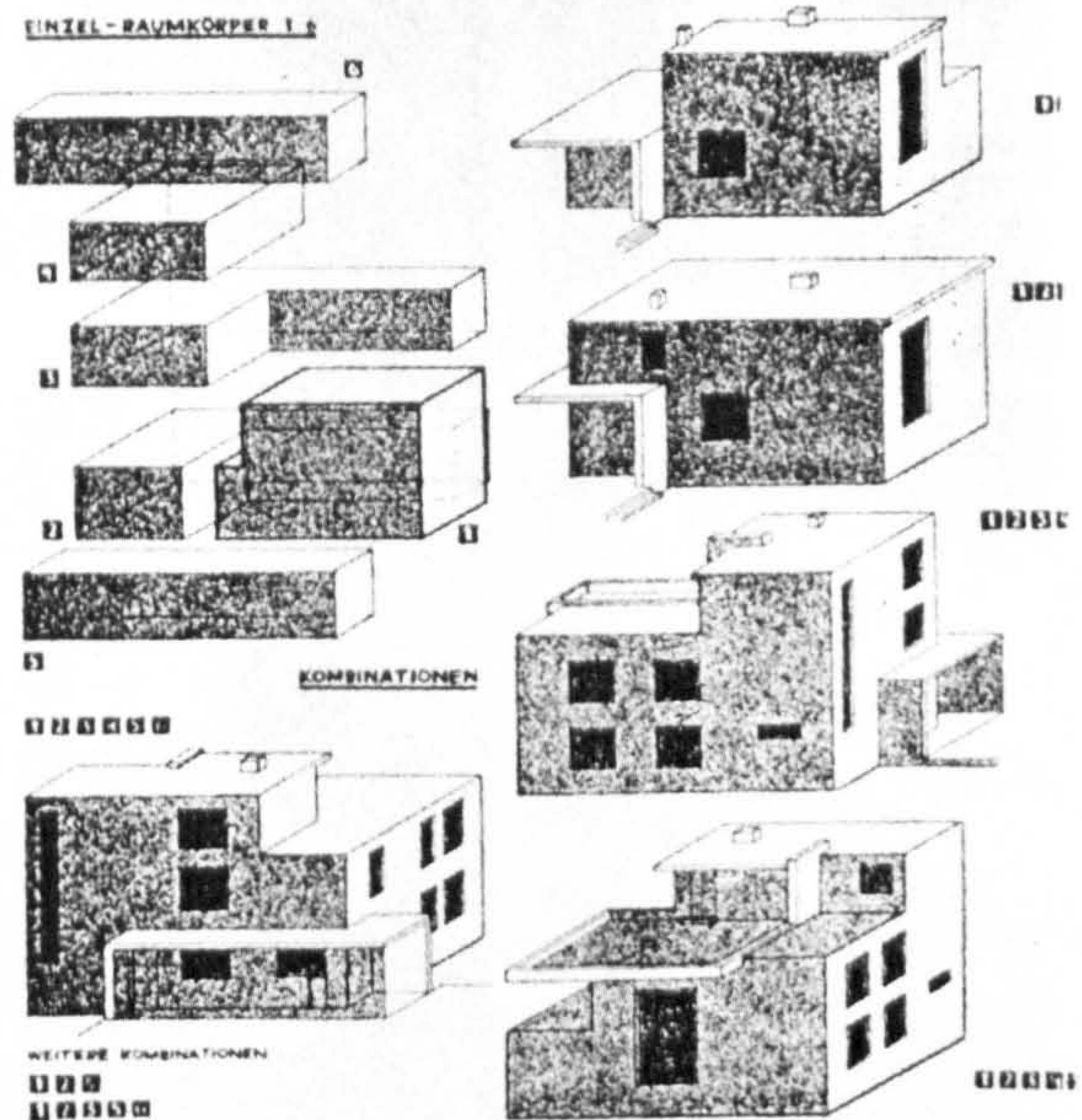
are intended in the first instance to be viewed in an unconscious, distracted dream-state. They create an atmosphere which I hope would be similar to that experienced in reading the 1938 catalogue. However, many of these same illustrations may acquire greater significance as the reader constructs his or her own connections between them and the text.

In the age of simulation, claims to originality are problematic. This dissertation's contribution to architectural scholarship consists of the focused choice of objects of analysis and theories from a number of different disciplines and the assembly of these parts into a whole. Its 'originality' lies not in the choice of its objects of study (architectural education and the Bauhaus), nor in the choice of tools (intersections of philosophy, semiology, cultural theory, economics, sociology and psychoanalysis), but in their sequencing, combination and application to architectural education. The research on Bauhaus economic activity has not, to my knowledge, been previously published and therefore constitutes new empirical research in the field. As I have already said, architectural education is also not well-documented and the dissertation makes a contribution to the field. Nevertheless, the main contribution of this work is in the construction and application of an interdisciplinary theoretical framework, showing the relationship of architectural education to broader cultural forces. I hope that through this interdisciplinary analysis my work may be useful to others.

Walter Gropius and Adolf Meyer: Model of proposed academy of philosophy. 1923



Architecture department: Standardized serial houses. Drawing shows the various units of which the houses are composed according to the needs of the inhabitants. 1921



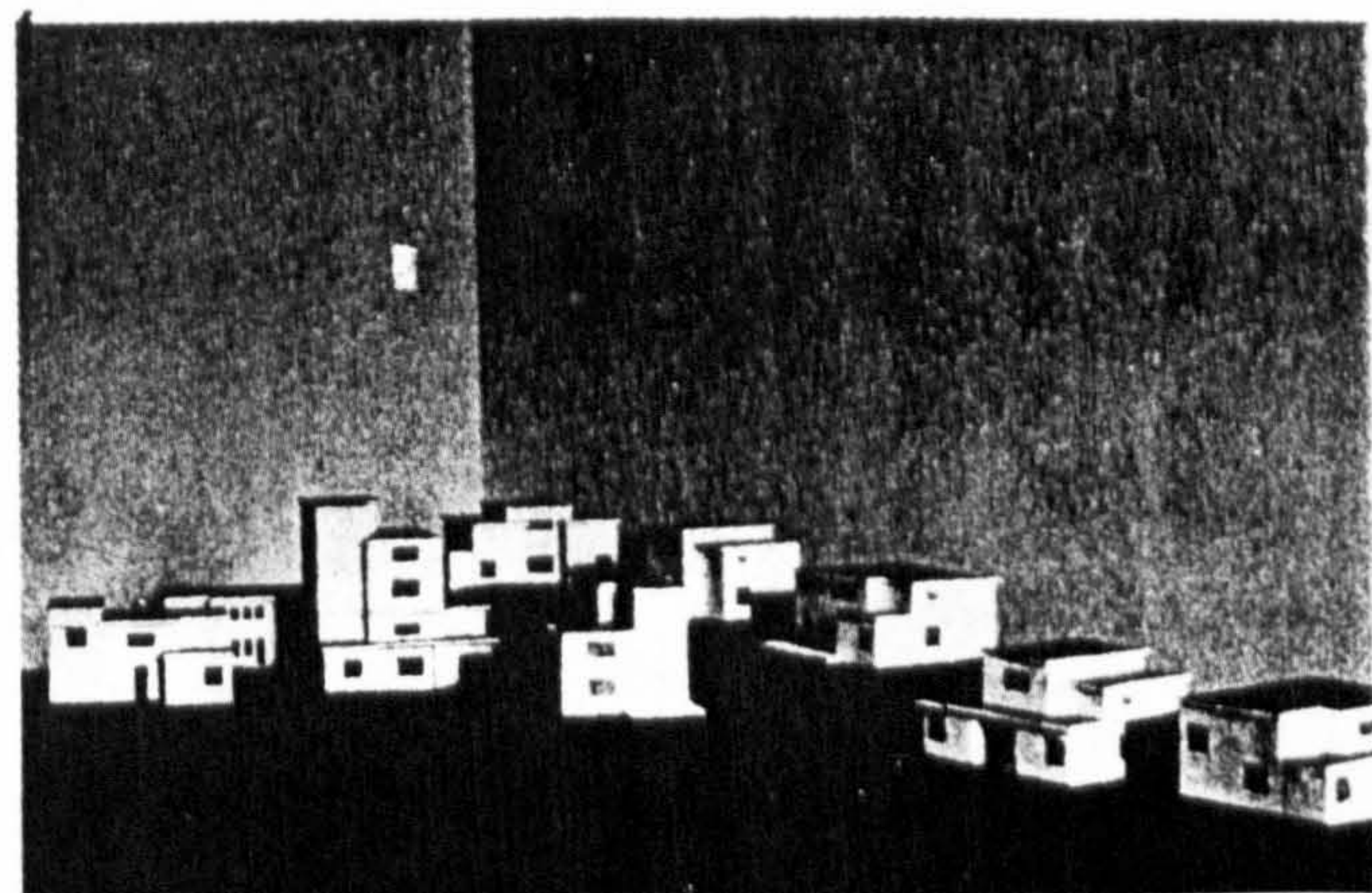
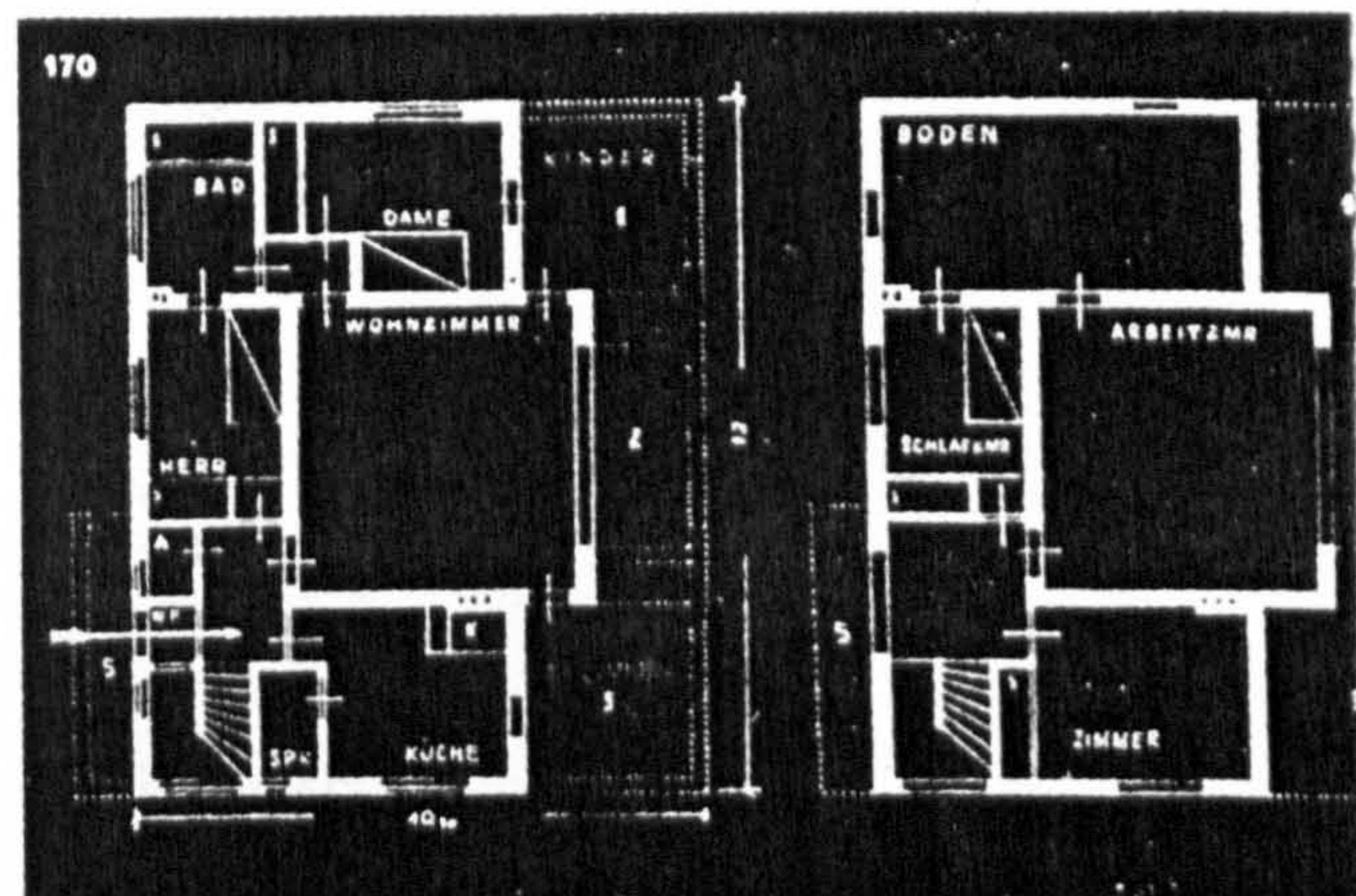
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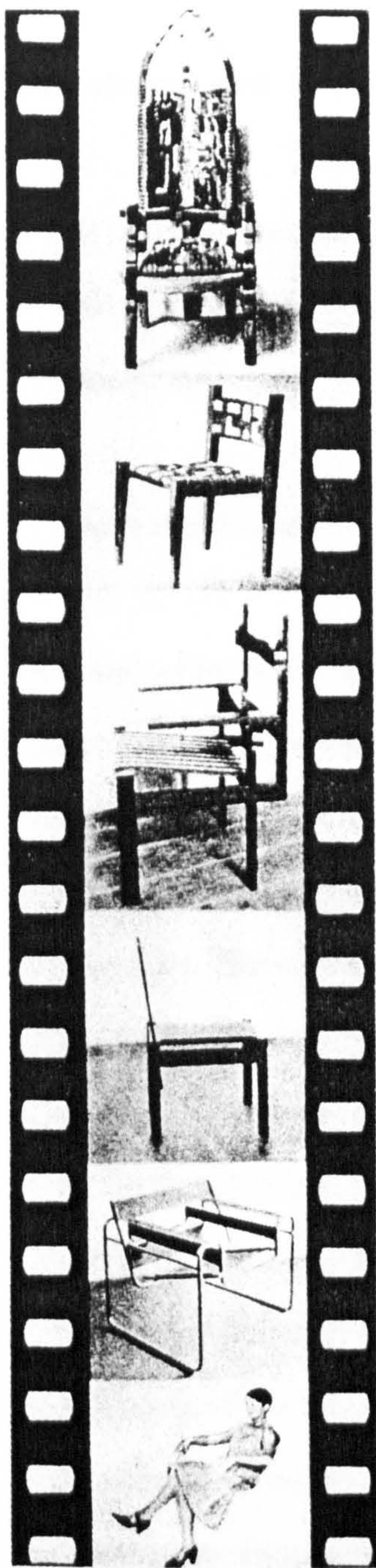
THE ARCHITECTURE DEPARTMENT

It had been Gropius' intention to reinforce the courses in architecture with a broad program of practical work, but he was hindered in this by lack of understanding on the part of the authorities and by the effects of inflation. He raised money privately to build the house "Am Horn" for the 1923 exhibition, hoping that it would mark the beginning of an extensive housing development. The Thuringian government leased the land surrounding the house "Am Horn" to the Bauhaus and an elaborate building scheme for additional houses was drawn up, but the funds for their construction were never forthcoming.* The correspondence between the Bauhaus administration and the various political regimes reveals both the bureaucratic indolence and the tragic financial impotence which prostrated the country at the time. Nevertheless, in order to assure the workshops some measure of practical building experience, Gropius employed them on his private architectural commissions, including the construction of the theater in Jena and the Sommerfeld residence in Berlin.

* In order to use the land the director could, therefore, do nothing but turn it over to the students, to be cultivated in their spare time as a service to the Bauhaus community. The garden produce was sold in the Bauhaus canteen. When the progressive catastrophe of inflation menaced this activity Gropius sold an historic family heirloom—a silver table service and linen which had belonged to Napoleon.

Architecture department: Below models showing variations of houses composed of standardised units; above plans. 1921





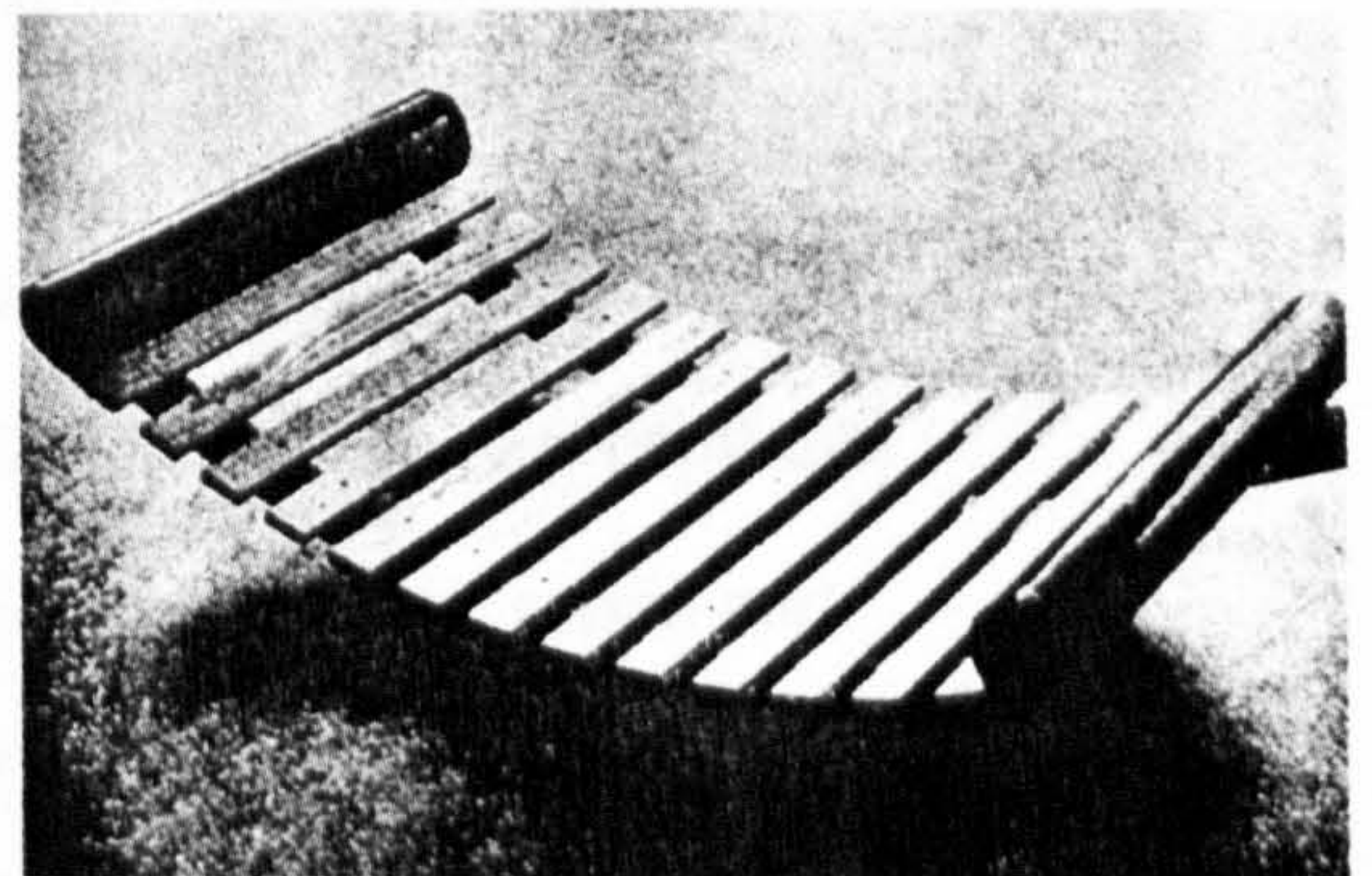
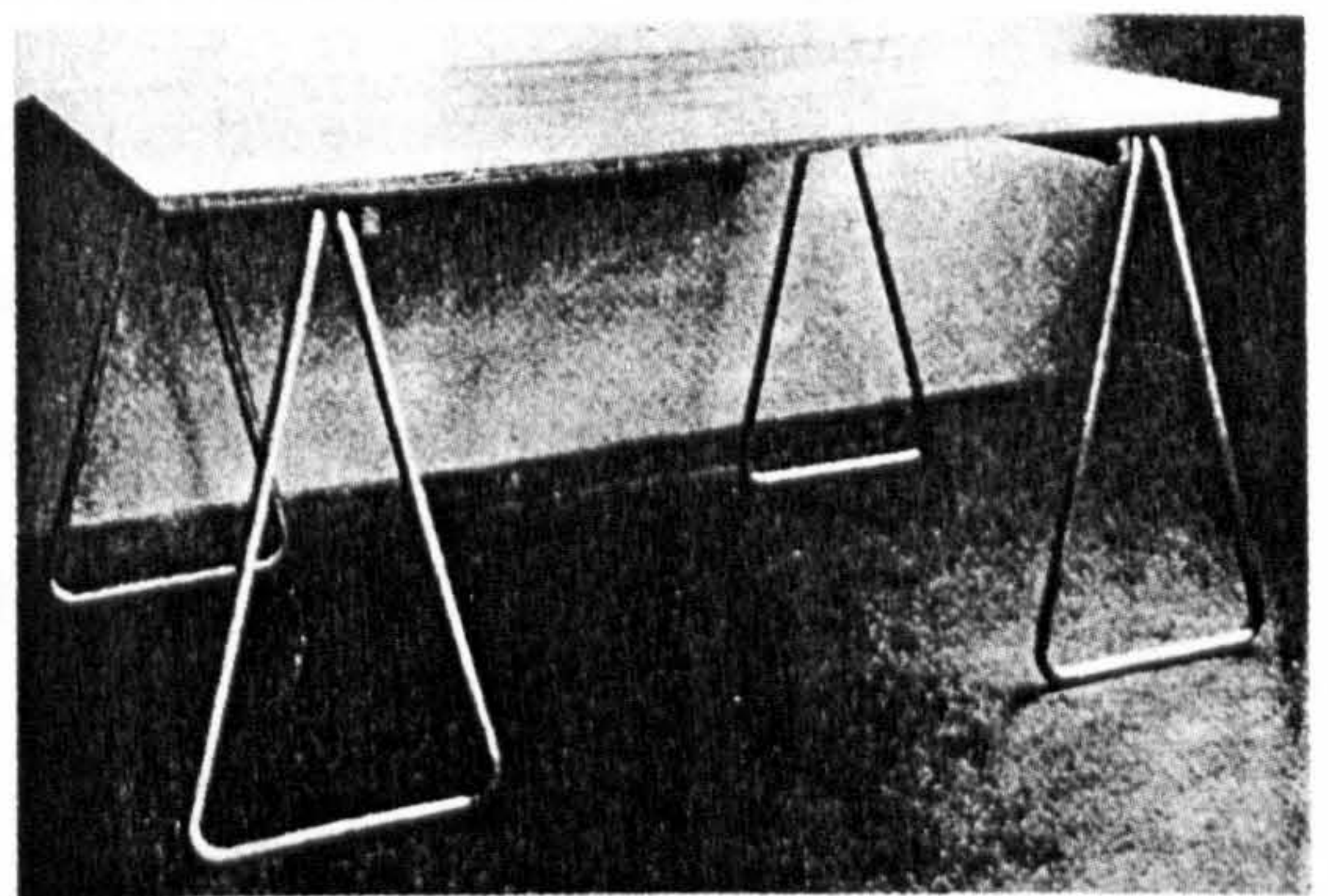
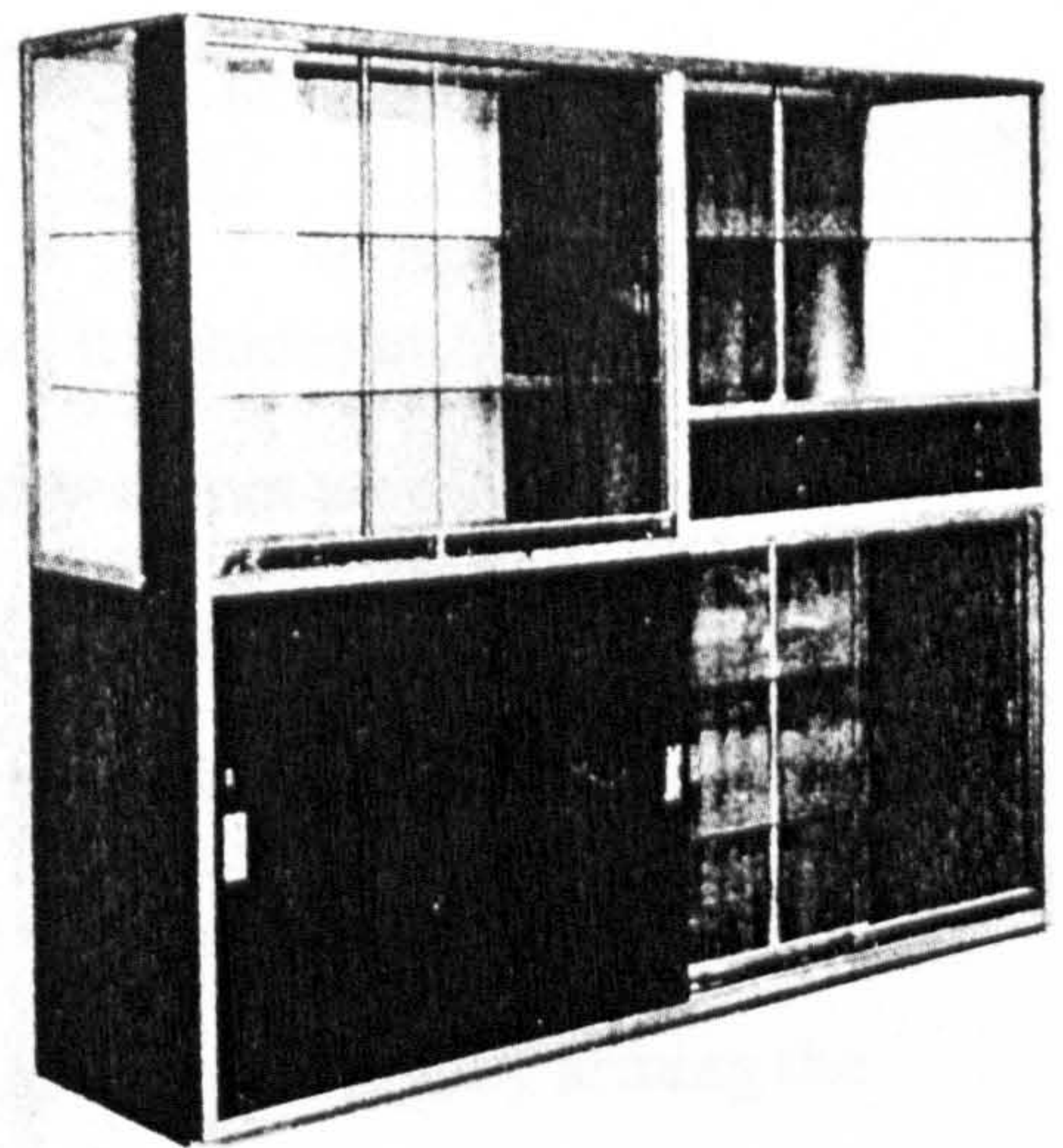
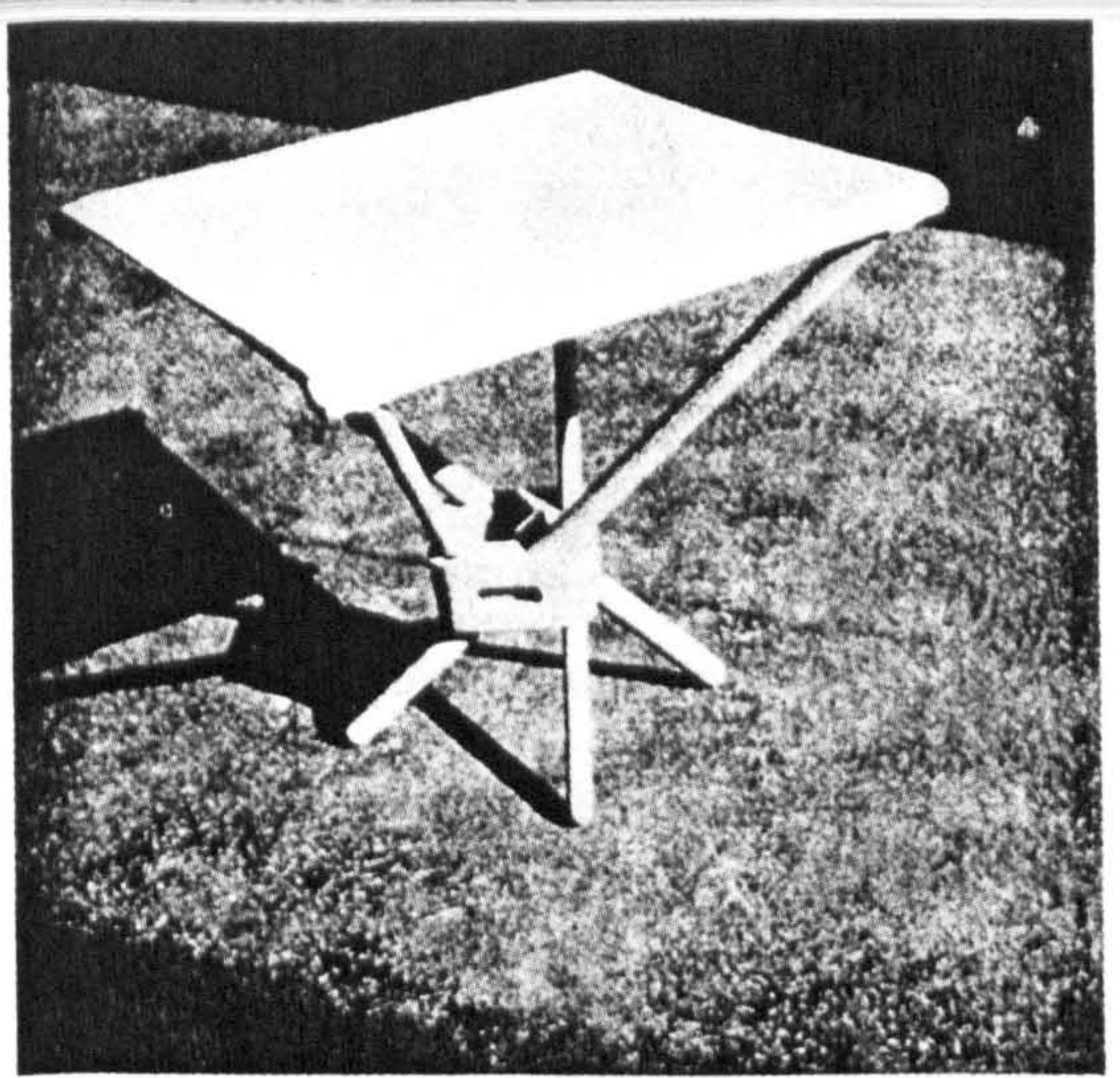
1921

1921 1/2

1924

1925

19??



A Bauhaus Movie lasting five years.
 Author: Life demanding its rights.
 Operator: Marcel Breuer who recognizes these rights.
 Better and better every year; in the end we will sit on
 resilient air columns. (from Bibl. no. 30, 1926, no. 1)

2.1. Simulacra and Commodities

It is always the aim of ideological analysis to restore the objective process; it is always a false problem to want to restore the truth beneath the simulacrum.

Jean Baudrillard

Simulations (1983, 48)

A simulacrum is neither true nor false. Rather it parades as true in order to conceal that judgements about truth and falsity are not possible. A simulacrum destroys the claims of both true and false copies to represent the thing itself, by abolishing their differences, by abolishing even the concept of the copy. The concept of the simulacrum originates with Plato. Plato contests the false claims of the Sophist, a simulacral being, by arming the Sophist's opponent Socrates with the concept of the iconic, true copy. In the true copy the 'good' claimant triumphs over the simulacrum and thus establishes a hierarchy of truthful semblances. Plato does, however, touch upon the fundamental problem of the simulacrum—that it respects neither the concept of the original nor the false claimant. In the recognition that the true is opposed not by falsity, but by the absence of truth, by simulacra, Plato lays the foundations for the undoing of Platonic thought.

The main recent theorist of the simulacrum is Jean Baudrillard, who identifies simulation as the main mechanism driving the late capitalist society. In his book *Simulations* (1983) he explains the origin and ascendancy of the simulacrum by describing the historical stages of the

semantic crisis that it generated. The simulacrum is (1983, 11), for him, dependent on an essential absence of hierarchy:

Whereas representation tries to absorb simulation by interpreting it as false representation, simulation envelops the whole edifice of representation as itself a simulacrum.

For Baudrillard, contemporary signs have lost their symbolic meaning and have become simulacra. He believes that we now live in an age of simulation where models generated from reproductions of reality precede the fabrication of 'the real' and where representations no longer bear any relation to reality. Reality is instead generated from a code of already reproduced signs.

For Baudrillard, simulation is the product of the commodification of meaning. In *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign*, (1981) Baudrillard takes Marx's definition of the commodity and develops it into the concept of the 'commodity sign'. The Marxian commodity is an object which has both use and exchange value. Use is the 'real' referent embedded in the labour needed to produce the commodity. Exchange value, in contrast, is an abstract sign assigned to the commodity through an autonomous system of circulation and exchange within the marketplace. Baudrillard (Baudrillard 1981, 130-142) questions the Marxian definition of reality which gives use value superiority over exchange value. Instead he argues that use value, like exchange value, is a system of sign exchange, dependent (146) on 'rational decoding and distinctive social use'. It is

therefore systematised and commodified just like exchange value. He reverses the traditional Marxist relationship by suggesting (146) that

It is because *the structure of the sign is at the very heart of the commodity form* that the commodity can take on, immediately, the effect of signification ... Like the sign form, the commodity is a code managing the exchange of values. It makes little difference whether the contents of material production or the immaterial contents of significations are involved; it is the code that is determinant; the rules of the interplay of signifiers and exchange value.

He states that for the commodity to have use value, it must depend on an existing, autonomous and highly regulated system of sign exchange beyond pure need; it is therefore already the commodity sign—a product of (146) 'a code managing the exchange of values'. The lack of reference to an absolute or natural system of value makes the commodity sign into a simulacrum. The autonomy, reproducibility, abstraction and regulation of all meaning by the codes of sign exchange has, in Baudrillard's opinion, progressively destroyed meaningful social relations. In his introduction to *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign* Charles Levin writes (5) that:

For Baudrillard ... the commodity was not just a problem in economics, but the nucleus of a semantic crisis which reticulated throughout the entire social system.

The concept of the commodity sign provides Baudrillard with a link between socio-economic, historical and semiological explanations of the transformation of contemporary cultural activity into simulation.

Baudrillard's extension of the 'metaphysical subtleties and theological whimsies' of the commodity object, identified by Marx (Marx 1961-2, 44) in *Capital*, to signification itself represents, for Levin, the shift from a system of value based on mass-production and need to one of mass-consumption (Baudrillard 1981, 147) and circulation of signs.

Levin (5), argues that Baudrillard developed a theory of consumption of signs which detaches all referents from their origin or destination and relocates them in a code:

What is consumed is not the object itself, but the *system* of objects, 'the idea of a relation' that is actually 'no longer lived, but abolished, abstracted and consumed' by the signifying system itself, of which the commodity is only one kind of differential term. It is this very condition of semiosis, engendered by the universalization of commodity relations, which privatizes experience in the first place. As we 'consume' the code, in effect, we 'reproduce' the system.

The concept of the simulacrum explains the philosophical problem inherent in trying to criticise one medium of signification (buildings) through a second one (drawings or text) using the concepts of a third one which claims to more real or true (function or need). In Baudrillard's schema all these are codes—always already commodified and relativised. There is no

longer a 'real' (whether a physical building or a philosophical truth) that can be used to criticise and dismantle the simulacrum because the real is itself a product of a self-referential system of signs. Reality becomes rhetorical — 'a reality effect', a simulacrum.

The identification of modernity with simulation is Baudrillard's most important contribution to cultural theory. He identifies the void at its heart — its destruction of tradition, history, social relations and meanings. For him there is no authentic content beneath the sign because the process of commodification inherent in modernity has destroyed any reference to reality altogether.

In *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign*, in an essay titled 'Design and Environment or How Political Economy Escalates into Cyberblitz', Baudrillard presents the Bauhaus as the key educational institution to recognise, legitimise and expand the process of producing commodity signs. He suggests (185) that the Bauhaus heralded the total absorption of use value into exchange value:

It is the Bauhaus that institutes this universal semanticization of the environment in which everything becomes the object of a calculus of function and of signification.

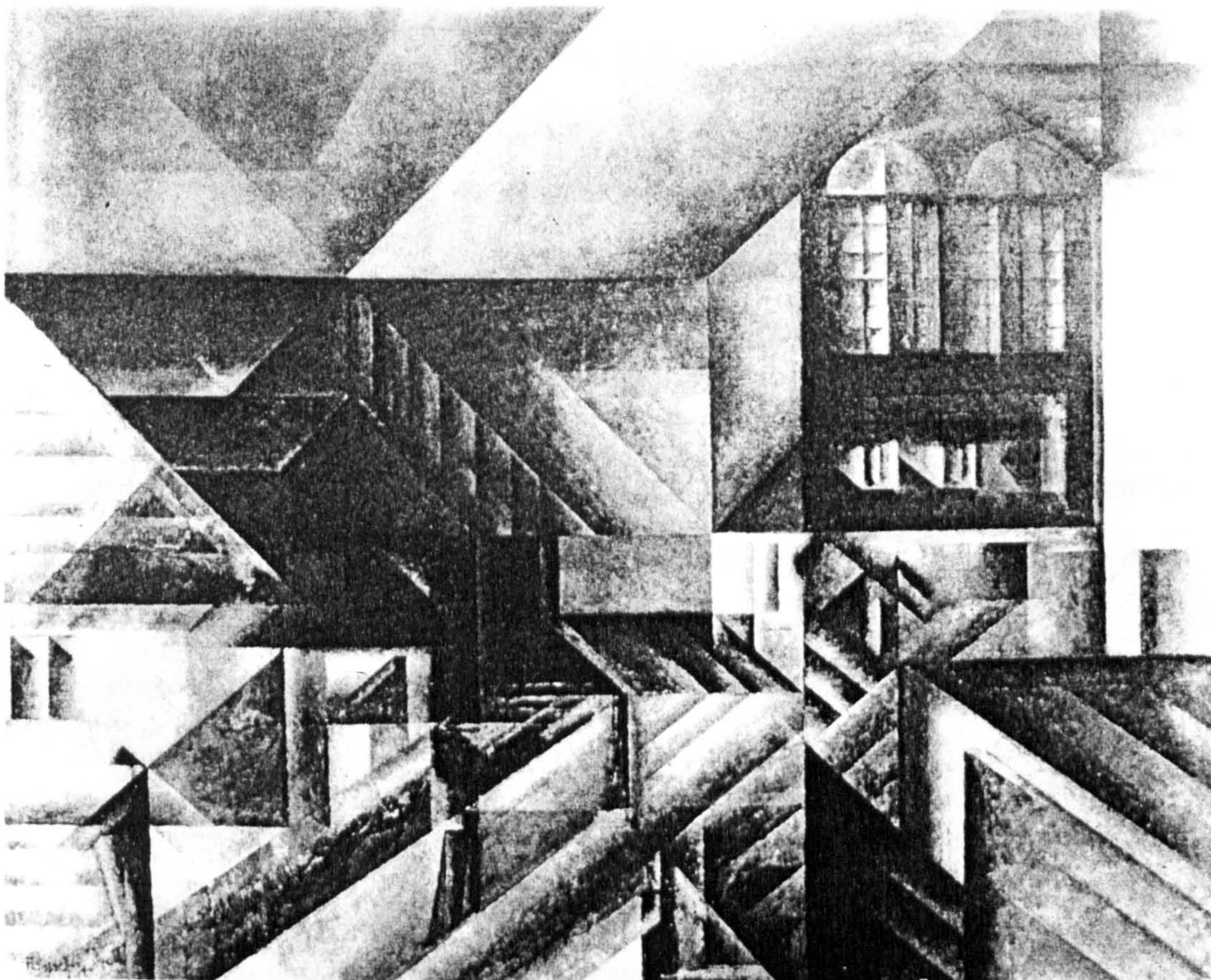
He (186, Baudrillard's italics) continues:

Just as the industrial revolution marked the birth of a field of political economy, of a systematic and rational theory of material production, so the Bauhaus marks the *theoretical extension of this field of political economy* and the practical extension of the system of exchange value to the whole domain of signs, forms and objects. At the level of the mode of signification and in the name of *design*, it is a mutation analogous to that which has taken place since the 16th [sic] century on the level of the mode of material production and under the aegis of political economy. The Bauhaus marks the point of departure of a veritable *political economy of the sign*.

For Baudrillard, the Bauhaus transformed utility and need into a sign system detached from specific and differentiated traditions of production. By conferring function with design value, the Bauhaus immersed it in the system of sign exchange. By making hitherto insignificant objects and materials into subjects for design, the Bauhaus extended the system of sign exchange into mechanical production and everyday life. The Bauhaus was therefore (186) 'neither revolutionary nor utopian'. It was, instead, highly effective as an institution of research and development, producing not only objects but also signs and their exchange value.

By identifying the Bauhaus as the key institution at the threshold of the age of simulation, Baudrillard locates the school at a specific point in a temporal axis. He develops the historical schema of simulation in greater detail in his

later text (1983) *Simulations*. This is useful because it provides a structure for examining the history of architectural education as a history of sign production. It is also useful because it provides a framework through which Baudrillard theories can be historicised and criticised. It is therefore important to set out Baudrillard's historical schema in greater detail.



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lyonel feininger: gothen.
oil on canvas. 1919.
courtesy nierendorf gallery

2.2 Lyonel Feininger, *Gothen*, 1919, *Bauhaus 1919-1928*, 1975 ed., p. 181

2.2. Orders of Simulacra

This would be the successive phases of the image:

- it is the reflection of a basic reality
- it masks and perverts a basic reality
- it masks the *absence* of a basic reality
- it bears no relation to any reality whatever: it is its own pure simulacrum.

Jean Baudrillard

Simulations (1983, 11)

Baudrillard sees representation (where signs and reality are equivalent) gradually supplanted by simulation (where the equivalence of signs caused by their reproduction and autonomous circulation destroys their authority in relation to an origin). He sees this as a historical process beginning in the Renaissance period (Baudrillard 1983, author's italics, 83):

Three orders of appearance, parallel to the mutations of the law of value, have followed one another since the Renaissance:

- *Counterfeit* is the dominant scheme of the 'classical' period, from the Renaissance to the industrial revolution;
- *Production* is the dominant scheme of the industrial era;
- *Simulation* is the reigning scheme of the current phase that is controlled by the code.

The first order of simulacrum is based on the natural law of value, that of the second order on the commercial law of value, that of the third order on the structural law of value.

For Baudrillard, once the God-given unity of names and things is broken, each semantic order can only invoke its predecessors as representational guarantees which are nevertheless only simulacra, appearing at exactly the point when their real referential authority disappears. He sees these false guarantees as (1-79) 'the precession of simulacra'. However, unlike Marx, he does not regard feudal society as a pre-capitalist paradise but points out (84) the necessary interdependence of a cruel, fixed social order and the stability of meaning:

If we are starting to dream again, today especially, of a world of sure signs, of a strong 'symbolic order', make no mistake about it: this order has existed and it was that of a ferocious hierarchy, since transparency and cruelty for signs go together.

Baudrillard proposes that once signs are freed from their rigid hierarchy under feudalism, where the bond between signs and things is guaranteed by God, the reign of the simulacrum begins.

The first order of the simulacrum is, for him, the Counterfeit Order. The secular ideology of the Renaissance mercantile democracy consciously allows a new proliferation of signs 'upon demand'. This in turn (84) leads to 'open competition on the level of the distinctive signs', pointing to the age of industrial capital. He identifies the arrival and subsequent destabilising effect of a free market in signs as the underlying cause of the contemporary loss of the real. For him the universal availability of signs

unleashed by the status and innovation-hungry Renaissance merchant princes can only simulate a bond with things through feigning the old guarantors of divine will and natural reason—but this (86) is 'only the simulacrum of symbolic obligation: it produces neutral values only, that can be exchanged in an objective world'.

Both guarantors appeal to older semantic orders: feudal divinity, nature and pre-Christian classical reason. He names the Renaissance and Classical eras as the first order of simulacra, the Counterfeit Order, because it fabricates the illusion of unbreakable bonds, whether between signs or social relations. He illustrates his with argument with examples of art and architecture. The work of art becomes (144) an 'endlessly reflected vision: all the games of duplication and reduplication of the object in detail'. This is the age of the mirror, the painting, the automaton, the divinely ordained natural reason of classicism and the primitive hut and the universal stucco of the Baroque.

Whilst the Counterfeit Order still pretends a fixed obligation to the real only to mask the universal availability of signs, the second order of simulacra utilises the principle of equivalence inherent in the first order to abolish both origin and purpose in representation. The Production Order corresponds to the industrial era. The equivalence inherent in the exchangeability of the sign becomes the founding principle of its mass-reproduction and transformation into a commodity sign. The industrial simulacrum destroys the counterfeit sign. It signals the end of representation, the end of the correspondence of image and reality. Industrial signs (96) 'will no longer have to be

counterfeited, since they are going to be produced all at once on a gigantic scale'. The reproduction process thereby begins (97) an 'absorption of all original being and an introduction to a series of identical beings'. Signs no longer have even the semblance of hierarchy.

With the arrival of the modernist avant-garde, art and architecture enter (144) the 'properly serial form'. The infinite reproducibility of the photographic medium replaces painting and the neutralised, scientific, empty sign of prefabrication replaces naturalism, classicism and historicism in architecture. The empathetic identification and projection of commodity fetishism gives renewed meaning to such empty signs. It cannot, however, mask the absence of a basic reality as it is ultimately totally dependent on the infinite mobility of meaning inherent in the commodity sign.

Baudrillard believes that the final detachment of signs from any obligation to reality occurs when the older guarantors of divine will and natural reason can no longer mask the absence of an origin or purpose in signification. The commodity sign expands into an autonomous system of value based on circulation and exchange embodied today in the new codes of knowledge that form structuralism and post-structuralism. Origin and purpose is, from now on, internally generated from within sign systems. Operating according to internal principles of indeterminacy and exchange, the contemporary Simulation Order bears (101), no relation to reality whatsoever. It constructs 'models from which proceed all forms according to the modulation of their differences' and which act as 'a kind of anterior finality and the only resemblance there is.'

The disappearance of the real now becomes a critical issue. Images attempt to resurrect reality by its reproduction within the codes of a particular chosen medium. This only hastens its demise as it falls prey to the equivalence inherent in the reproduction process and the abstraction of the code of the medium.

'The Medium is the Message' is restated by Baudrillard (123) as:

It is in effect the medium—the very style of montage, of decoupage, of interpellation, solicitation, summation by the medium—which controls the process of meaning.

The fascination for the code is (150):

a subliminal perception (a sort of sixth sense) of deception, montage, scenaria—of the overexposed reality in the light of the models—no longer a production space, but a reading strip, strip of coding and decoding, magnetized by the signs—esthetic reality [sic]—no longer by the premeditation and the distance of art, but by its elevation to the second level, to the second power, by the anticipation and the immanence of the code.

The infiltration of aestheticism into reality is now so widespread, he believes, that art (like culture or architecture) can no longer identify and analyse reality, thereby losing any critical distance it may once have had. It

has to nostalgically fetishise and untenable realism or (151) 'turns back on itself as the manipulation of the signs of art.'

The limitations of the medium create (120) a world where 'objects and information result already from a selection, a montage, a point-of-view.'

Baudrillard believes (119-20) that:

Montage and codification demand, in effect, that the reader construe and decode by observing the same procedure whereby the work was assembled.

The main activity in the sphere of culture therefore becomes (150) a modulation of those units of difference that comprise the code, an 'esthetic pleasure, that very one of reading and of the rules of the game.'

This explains the emergence of realism and super-realism in recent art as well as the resurgence of classicism and the vernacular in architecture. It also places post-war neo-avant-garde artists and architects within a logic of development where art and architecture enters its indefinite reproduction. Not only can they now feed on themselves ad infinitum but the aestheticisation of everyday life allows art and industry to exchange signs (151). 'Art can become a reproducing machine (Andy Warhol), without ceasing to be art, since the machine is only a sign'. This is perhaps most clearly visible in high-tech architecture which transforms technology into a sign and so inverts the deterministic relationship of functionalism. High-tech function is subservient to form.

Such simulation of the signs of reality and the signs of art has led Baudrillard to observe (146, author's italics) that not only has the real now become '*that of which it is possible to give an equivalent reproduction*' but also that:

At the limit of this process of reproducibility, the real is not only what can be reproduced, but *that which is always already reproduced*.

All that remains for the artist or architect is a fetishised play with the cultural code's constantly shifting elements of abstracted assemblage.

Baudrillard's concepts of the fetishism of the code and the nostalgia for realism explain the architectural obsession with the stereotypical image of high architectural aesthetics (signs of art) within architectural publications and the obsessive protection of the homogenous status of professional knowledge (signs of reality). In both cases, the real is not something to be socially produced; it is always already reproduced. The creative and critical dimensions of architecture evaporate. It becomes a stereotype with no reality beyond itself and loses all potential power as agent of social transformation. There is no longer a 'content' behind the sign and no critical cultural or architectural activity through signification.

Such pessimism has understandably had a mixed reception in the field of cultural theory. For many (Frankovits, 1984)—the 'seduced and abandoned' of Marxist disenchantment—it has legitimised their

powerlessness in the global decline of traditional Marxism. The uncritical acceptance of Baudrillard's pessimism has thus transformed his critical thought into an intensification of the condition he portrays. It has further conflated his totalising rhetoric with reality, denying its genesis in a specific set of historical, political and geographic circumstances. A growing number of cultural theorists have therefore begun to question Baudrillard's claims.

In *The Postmodern Condition* J.F. Lyotard (1978) argues that historically the function of realism was to preserve consciousness from doubt and thus to institute conformity. Lyotard argues that although post-modern culture no longer appears to represent reality, its purpose continues to be one of perpetuating acquiescence. This suggests that simulation serves broader political interests and may not be all-encompassing. Manuel De Landa (1986) proposes new codes of knowledge in the age of simulation as post-industrial, semiotic forms of domination, whose genetic, cybernetic and media codes ensure the continued exertion of power over very real bodies and very real minds.

Baudrillard's position becomes problematic when simulation pretends a lack of purpose and hierarchy to maintain existing power structures. Baudrillard himself states (1983, 25 and 111) that the aim of simulation is to act as control and deterrent, to disarm all difficult elements by their absorption into the abstraction and neutrality of the codes of knowledge. Regulation by the code of exchange takes on the role that the now supposedly defunct rationalism and realism used to have in ordering and reproducing cultural activity. Architectural activity consisting only of a manipulation of 'the rules

of the game' therefore becomes a repressive fetishism of the code which denies the role of signification in the construction of social consciousness.

The pessimism of Baudrillard's conclusions derives from the totalitarianism of his idealist position and therefore the rejection of criticism and constructive transformation. It turns his work into a nostalgic, apocalyptic master narrative. He embraces only the losses and not the gains of his age of simulation. The disappearance of the real that Baudrillard mourns is the eclipse of power and certainty that characterised his world of post-war European left-wing politics. As Charles Levin has said (Baudrillard 1981, 5-28) Baudrillard is a disenchanted Marxist himself. Once Baudrillard's all-encompassing pessimism becomes a symptom of a specific phase of Marxist self-doubt, simulation acquires a history and ideology through which can be understood, criticised and changed.

Baudrillard's theories are useful to cultural analysis because they explain the growing importance of the production, circulation and consumption of signs and the ascendancy of aestheticism in contemporary culture. They also explain the loss of effectiveness of critical art practices as these become infinitely reproducible and exchangeable within the art market. They provide a semiological history of commodification.

Baudrillard's theories are also useful because, like Plato's, they carry the seed of their counter-argument within them. Paradoxically, Baudrillard's nihilism gains its strength from a rhetorical reliance on traditional notions of reality. By outlining an economic and social history of the simulacrum and

therefore the possibility of a social space and time outside the semantic apocalypse, Baudrillard returns to traditional and privileged Marxian terms of analysis—those of economics, politics and history. In his early work at least, he uses these terms in conjunction with traditional Marxian categories of modes of production and relations of reproduction to carry his argument. These suggest a route out of his philosophical and cultural impasse.

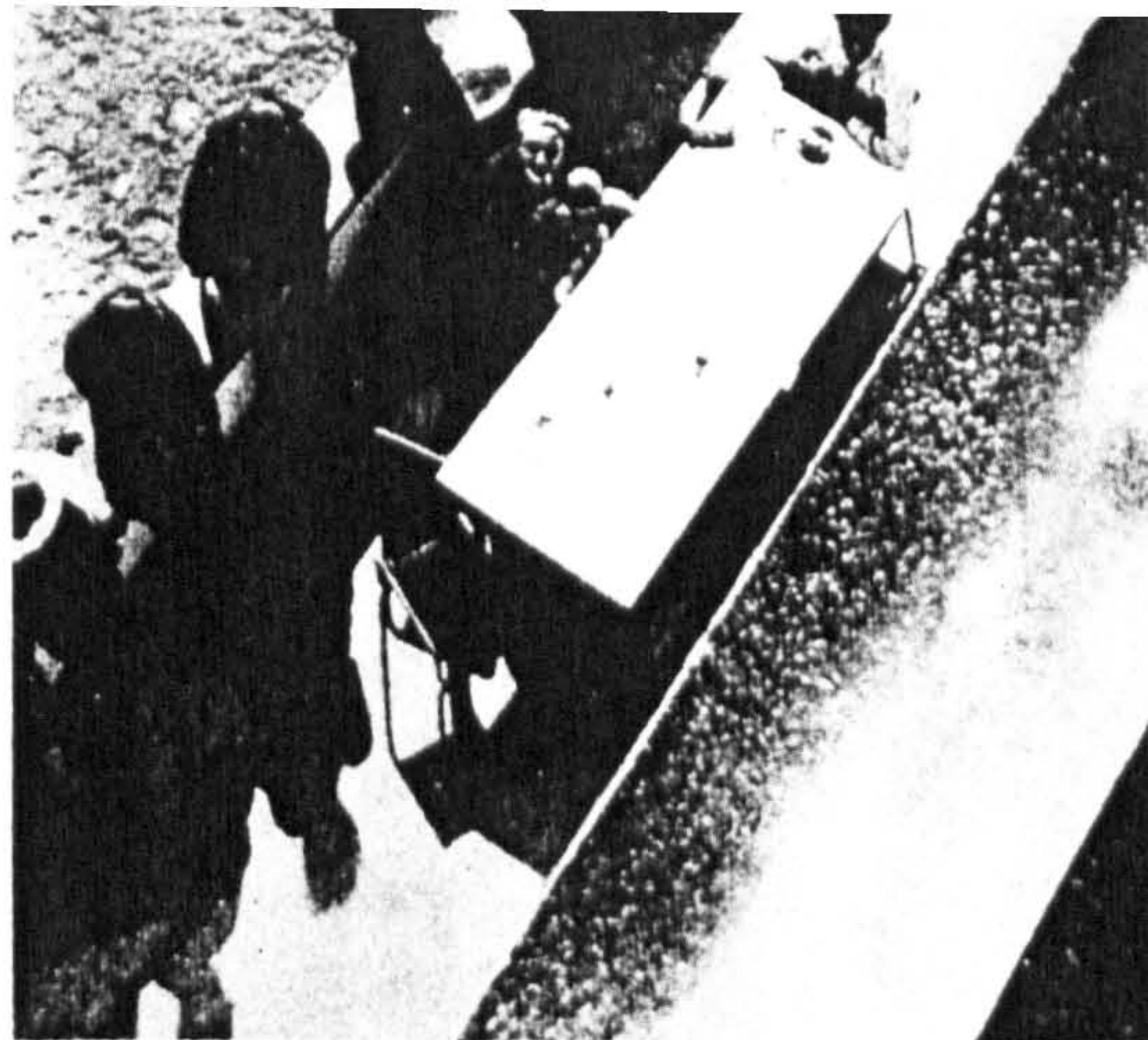
Finally, Baudrillard's concepts are also useful to architecture. They explain recent changes in education and practice. Within education, Baudrillard's claim that contemporary culture is one of simulation, operating according to codified systems of exchange of signs, explains the explosion of interest in theories of representation and media of communication, the central importance of design in the architecture curriculum and the problem of teaching external 'realities' such as economics or politics. Within practice, his theories explain the growth of systematised architectural sign consumption through, amongst others, tourism, historic preservation, imagineering, film, virtual reality, speculative development, the growth of the DIY market and the global division of labour in the design and construction process.

Baudrillard's concepts and analyses are useful because they expose the problems of media culture. They explain the growing aestheticisation and depoliticisation of art and architecture, including that of architectural education. I therefore believe it is important to reject his conclusions but keep his analyses, balancing them with theories that retain a positive political role for cultural activity in the age of mass-media. Once critical

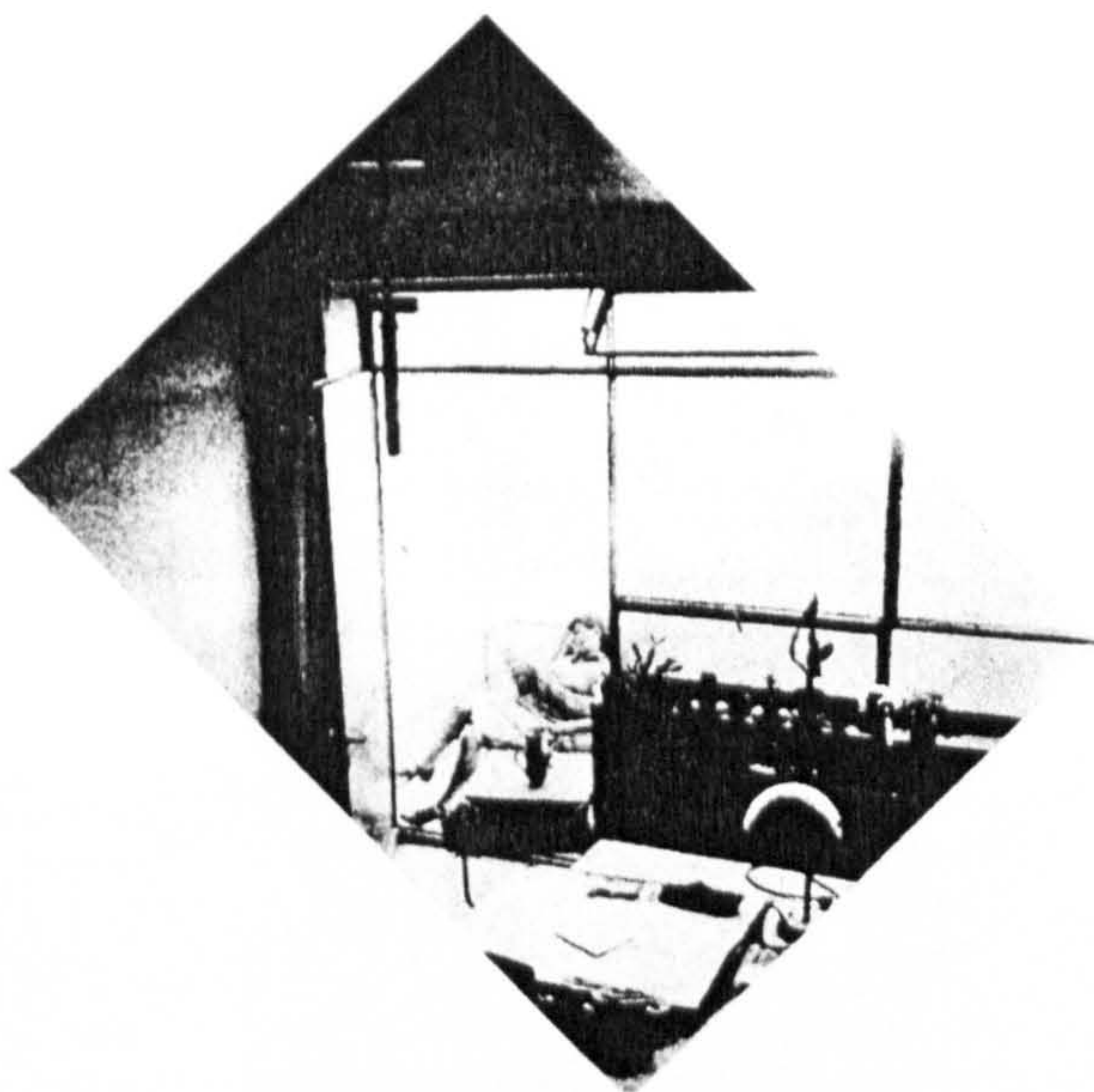
content returns to the simulacrum, a critical history of the architectural sign in the age of simulation becomes not only possible, but absolutely necessary.

Baudrillard's choice of the Bauhaus as the emblematic institution at the threshold of simulation suggests that an analysis of Bauhaus education may be useful in a critical history of the architectural sign in two ways. First, a more detailed study of the Bauhaus' role in heralding the age of simulation would lead to a better understanding of the relationship between industrial production, signification and commodification within modernist architectural education. Second, a detailed study of Bauhaus activities, located in an economic and social context would provide material through which the limits and contradictions of Baudrillard's position could themselves be tested. This would establish a much clearer theoretical understanding of the contradictions of simulation. If simulation were to be revealed as ideology, the architectural commodity sign would acquire a historical and political content which could lead to critical analysis and practical institutional change.

Life at the Bauhaus
in Dessau



104



Room in the studio
wing



Chapter 3 The Dreaming Collective



3.1 The Young Theatre at the Bauhaus in *bauhaus revue*, not dated

3.1. Dream Images

It is thus via a politically sensitive psychoanalysis rather than through some more expressly political or sociological discourse that we must orchestrate the theoretical transition from individual to group subject—via the notions of 'secondary' identification, and the typical fantasy.

Kaja Silverman Male Subjectivity at the Margins (1992, 28)

Baudrillard shares his theoretical starting point and subject matter with Walter Benjamin, whose writings fifty years earlier anticipated the Baudrillardian simulacrum. However, unlike Baudrillard, Benjamin proposed a positive political role for cultural activity in the age of mass-media. His work is therefore useful as critique and supplement to Baudrillard's position.

Like Baudrillard, Benjamin studied the effect of reproducibility on the meaning of signs. He identified the historical origin of modern semantic crisis in the baroque era and argued that it intensified with the mass-reproduction of images in the twentieth century. He discussed the modern condition in his seminal essay *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (Benjamin 1968a) and established its Baroque genesis in *The Origin of German Tragic Drama* (Benjamin 1985).

Baudrillard (1983, 98-9) acknowledges his debt to Benjamin:

It is Walter Benjamin who, in *The Work of Art in the Era of its Technical Reproducibility*, [sic] first elicited the implications essential in this principle of reproduction. He shows that reproduction absorbs the process of production, changing its finalities and altering the status of product and producer. He demonstrates this mutation on the terrain of art, cinema and photography, because it is there that open up, in the 20th century, new territories without a tradition of classical productivity, and that are placed immediately under the sign of reproduction.

Benjamin (1968a, 223) also identified the role of the mass-media in creating the abstraction and equivalence of the Baudrillardian simulacrum:

Unmistakably, reproduction as offered by picture magazines and newsreels differs from the image seen by the unarmed eye. Uniqueness and permanence are as closely linked in the latter as are transitoriness and reproducibility in the former. To pry an object from its shell, to destroy its aura, is the mark of a perception whose 'sense of the universal equality of things' has increased to such an extent that it extracts it even from a unique object by means of reproduction.

Benjamin's recognition of the destruction of the aura through the 'sense of the universal equality of things' inherent in the desire for and effect of the mechanical reproducibility of images is comparable to Baudrillard's

observation (Baudrillard 1983, 97) that: 'Only the obliteration of the original reference allows for the generalized law of equivalence, that is to say the *very possibility of production*'.

Benjamin's interest in the reproducibility of images was informed by the rapid expansion of the entertainment industry in inter-war Germany. This, in turn, coloured his interest in the past. In his study of baroque allegory in *The Origin of German Tragic Drama* (1985) he saw the melancholy of baroque theatre representing a godless spirituality, and the decay of objects and meanings similar to the commodification of production and perception under capitalism. Benjamin (cited and translated by Buck-Morss from Benjamin 1972, 466 in Buck-Morss 1989, 181, translator's brackets) wrote:

The 'metaphysical subtleties' in which, according to Marx, [the commodities] indulge, are above all those of fixing their price. How the price of the commodity is arrived at can never be totally foreseen, not in the course of its production, nor later when it finds itself in the market. But just this is what happens with the object in its allegorical existence. The meaning which the melancholy of the allegorist consigns to it is not one that was expected. But once it contains such meaning, then the latter can be at any time removed in favour of any other. The fashion of meanings [in Baroque allegory] changed almost as rapidly as the price of commodities change. The meaning of the commodity is indeed: Price; as commodity it has no other. Thus the allegorist with the commodity is in his element.

In Baudrillard's terms, Benjamin recognised baroque allegory as a first-order simulacrum of the Counterfeit Order. Allegory released meaning from a singular into a multiple relationship with words and images, codifying it at the same time. It foreshadowed the principles of the industrial simulacrum in the Production Order when the separation of the form of images and words from their meaning became clearly visible through the endless repetition of the mass-produced commodity sign. In writing about allegory in the Baroque tragic dramas from a twentieth-century perspective, Benjamin transferred the lesson learnt from words and images in allegory to nineteenth- and twentieth-century images and industrial products (cited and translated by Buchloh from Benjamin 1972, 660 in Buchloh 1982, 44): 'The devaluation of objects in allegory is surpassed in the world of objects itself by the commodity'.

Unlike Baudrillard, however, Benjamin retained a faith in the political potential of the reproduction process (Benjamin 1968a, 224):

for the first time in world history, mechanical reproduction emancipates the work of art from its parasitical dependence on ritual ... Instead of being based on ritual, it begins to be based on another practice—politics.

Benjamin pointed out that mechanical reproduction of the image allowed art to reach a far wider audience than art based on courtly ritual. It gave the

work of art a new political power which compensated for the loss of authenticity caused by mechanical reproduction.

More recently, numerous art theorists and critics have identified the political potential in Benjamin's work (Buchloh 1982, Bürger 1984, Buck-Morss 1989). In particular, Susan Buck-Morss' study of Benjamin's largest and incomplete work, the *Arcades Project* (Benjamin, 1972) in her book *The Dialectics of Seeing* (Buck-Morss 1989) successfully weaves together Benjamin's interests in the political power of cultural forms with his writings on architecture. I use her collation and interpretation of Benjamin's fragmentary research on the politics of signification in literature, art and architecture as the main source of theoretical argument in this section. Buck-Morss' work focuses on Benjamin's use of Marxian and Surrealist techniques to understand architecture. Marxian theory is useful for my analysis of architectural signs as socio-economic phenomena Surrealism is useful in its link to Freudian techniques with their connection to gender-inflected experience. My 'borrowing' is also necessary because a large part of the *Arcades Project* remains untranslated and therefore a significant research project in itself. Finally, Buck-Morss affirmation of Benjamin's belief in the concrete political content of architectural signs helps me to counter Baudrillard's pessimistic idealism.

Benjamin, unlike Baudrillard, believed that signs (whether as images or as products) were ideological. In the *Arcades Project* he intended to examine the ideological role of nineteenth-century architecture in the formation of cultural consciousness. In *The Dialectics of Seeing* Susan Buck-Morss

introduces a number of Benjamin's ideas which I apply to architectural education in general, and the Bauhaus and its self-presentations through publication in particular. The most important of these ideas are the 'dream-house', the 'dreaming collective', the 'dream-image', the 'dialectical image' and (borrowed from Jung) the 'collective unconscious'.

The concept of the dialectical image is essential to my subsequent analysis of the Bauhaus and I devote section 3.2 to its discussion. In subsequent chapters (4 and 5) I develop Benjamin's Marxian collective psychoanalysis of architectural images by incorporating more recent economic, sociological and psychoanalytic theory.

For Benjamin, the experience of Modernity was akin to a dream. Capitalism was (Buck-Morss 1983, 212), for him, a 'new phenomenon with which a dream-sleep came over Europe, and in it a reactivation of mythic powers'. In the *Arcades Project*, Benjamin tried to show how nineteenth-century capitalism gave birth to a new class of buildings and population, which he respectively named dream-houses and the dreaming collective.

Buck Morss states (213) that for Benjamin

the new public buildings were 'dream-houses'. The lived experience of all this, the false consciousness of a collective subjectivity, at once deeply alienated and yet entering into the commodity landscape of utopian symbols with uncritical enthusiasm he called 'dream-consciousness'.

The Parisian Arcades, which formed the main subject of the *Arcades Project*, were one example of such dream-houses. The Arcades had been built to encourage the consumption of goods as signs and as objects of display within the shop window. New industrial technologies made such window shopping possible. Structural iron, steel and industrially-produced float glass were made into atria which separated the Arcade from the city, re-presenting it as an urban interior. Plate glass created large window displays tempting the urban dweller into their visual consumption.

The dreaming collective consisted of urban dwellers, who inhabited this new class of buildings, absorbing its architectural meanings through mythical representations of an emerging bourgeois culture. Urban dwellers experienced the new architectural spaces and symbols unconsciously and unreflectively. That is why Benjamin described their experience of architecture as dream-consciousness.

The dream-houses were built of dream-images. The dream-image was a representation of bourgeois myth, with both an ideological and utopian function. In the *Arcades Project* Benjamin intended to show (214) that

the new urban-industrial phantasmagoria (were) a 'dream-world' in which neither exchange value nor use value exhausted the meaning of objects. It was as 'dream-images of the collective'—both distorting illusion and redeemable wish-image—that they took on political meaning.

The classical figures and natural motifs forming the decorative surfaces of the Arcades were mythical symbols—of ceaseless progress, natural abundance, classical democracy, universal history and so on—expressed within the naturalistic and figurative historical language of bourgeois art and sculpture. Such dream-images simultaneously represented and deferred (Buck-Morss 1989, 39-43) utopian desires and deep-seated fears. The Arcades were a product of bourgeois finance, imagination and class exploitation. Their architectural dream-images were therefore built expressions of bourgeois myth, class-specific in their production but, in order to conceal the class that produced them, universal in their symbolism.

Representing bourgeois values as universal ones, the dream-images of the Arcades mythically represented bourgeois economic wealth, social power and cultural status as universal, deflecting attention away from the deprivation of the working class. Buck-Morss (1989, 120) writes:

The tremendous power of the new technology has remained in the hands of the ruling class that wields it as a force of domination, while privately appropriating the wealth it produces. In this context, dream symbols are the fetishized desires that advertise commodities. And the collective goes on sleeping.

Yet Benjamin also saw the excessiveness of the Arcades' decoration as a sign of a threatened and unfulfilled bourgeois unconscious, unable to face

(Benjamin 1972, 495, Buck-Morss' translation) the unjust social order of its own making:

The economic conditions under which society exists come to expression in the superstructure, just as the over-filled stomach of someone who is sleeping, even it may causally determine the content of the dream, finds in those contents not its copied reflection, but its expression.

The unconscious absorption of such idealised, universal signs allowed the urban public, both rich and poor, to avoid consciousness of their own social inequality. Architectural dream-images acted in a mythical manner—as representations located outside time, space, history and politics—and the working class in particular remained unaware of the conditions of their production and ideological function.

For Benjamin the term 'collective unconscious' had a double meaning. First, the individual urban dweller was not aware of his or her lack of consciousness. Like the Surrealist or the flâneur each uncritically absorbed the city's culturally-produced architectural symbols as nature, without consciousness of the experience and thus seldom recognised the political effects of architectural dream-images. This made architectural dream-images into a powerful class tool. Unable to change from a passive consumer to an active producer of form or meaning, the urban proletarian acted as an *homme sauvage* (noble savage) and could not use dream-images to imagine and realise an alternative future. The production of buildings and their dream-images remained in the hands of middle class architects and patrons.

Secondly, even if an urban dweller became conscious of architectural dream-images and their symbolic significance, their collective dimension remained hidden, without political potential. For Benjamin, the collective was doubly unconscious; first, individuals were not aware of dreaming; secondly, they were unaware of the shared nature of their experience. The collective could not therefore recognise architectural dream images as social and political rather than subliminal and individual phenomena.

Benjamin wanted to awaken the collective by a double attack on the dream-state. This involved waking from the individual dream-state and analysing individually experienced dream-images as collectively produced and consumed dialectical images of class exploitation and utopian promise. Only after such a dialectical analysis had been carried out could architectural dream-images provide the material necessary for their political redemption. The role of the intellectual was, in Benjamin's view, to initiate this process of collective analysis and so become active in social change. Architectural interpretation was to be a political practice.

Benjamin's speculations about built architecture were concerned with narrative symbolism in built and more specifically in visual form. Despite his claims that architecture acted through tactile appropriation, he rarely discussed its spatial and haptic effects on the bodies of its occupants. This is understandable given his literary interests—not only in his early writings on allegory, within which he saw even actors in non-verbal scenes perform visual and linguistic narrative functions, but also in his later writings on the

mechanical reproduction of images and text which again largely privileged the eye.

The emphasis on sight in Benjamin's writings on architecture also paralleled the rise of the mass-media of print, illustration and celluloid and the growing dominance of the eye in consuming books, magazines and films. Like Victor Hugo's famous statement that 'the book will kill the building', it suggests that with the expansion of literacy, a literary form of perception may have taken over as the main form of experience of architecture as well, so that senses other than sight were hardly understood or valued.

Whilst this overlooking of spatial processes limits the usefulness of Benjamin's analysis of the subliminal effects of built architectural form, the priority that he gave to architecture's narrative powers allows his theories to cross from buildings to the mechanically reproduced image within architectural publication. In *the Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* Benjamin wrote about the subliminal manipulation of perception by the mechanically reproducible image. He stated (1968a, 240, my brackets) that:

distraction [unconscious consumption] as provided by art presents a covert control of the extent to which new tasks have become soluble by apperception.

He argued that the mass-produced two-dimensional image, like architecture, led to unconscious collective acquiescence. Two-dimensional architectural

photographs, drawings and text, like architecture, acted as dream-images and could become dialectical images. In the *Arcades Project* Benjamin, a writer and friend of the Dadaists, intended to link architectural, filmic and photographic techniques, through the montage of image and text, to awaken the architectural dreaming collective from its class subjection.

However, I would argue that there are differences between the reader and the occupier of space. The audience of built architecture uses all the senses to grasp architectural meaning. The reader can only touch the book, flick the pages, feel the size and weight of the publication. The reader cannot enter the space of its architecture; smell, hearing, taste and movement are not involved. The array of unconscious effects is narrower for the bibliophile.

Benjamin also did not discuss the differences in reception between different types of publication. I would argue that different degrees of distracted experience apply to different text/image combinations and typographic formats. In a publication dominated by images, the unconscious experience of the eye dominates. The image overpowers the text, whose narrative function, not demanding immediate conscious attention, often becomes secondary. If the density of illustrations is high, the publication can be experienced in a dream-state. The reader's mind is loosened from a structured narrative and can make more random and playful connections between image, memory, experience and text.

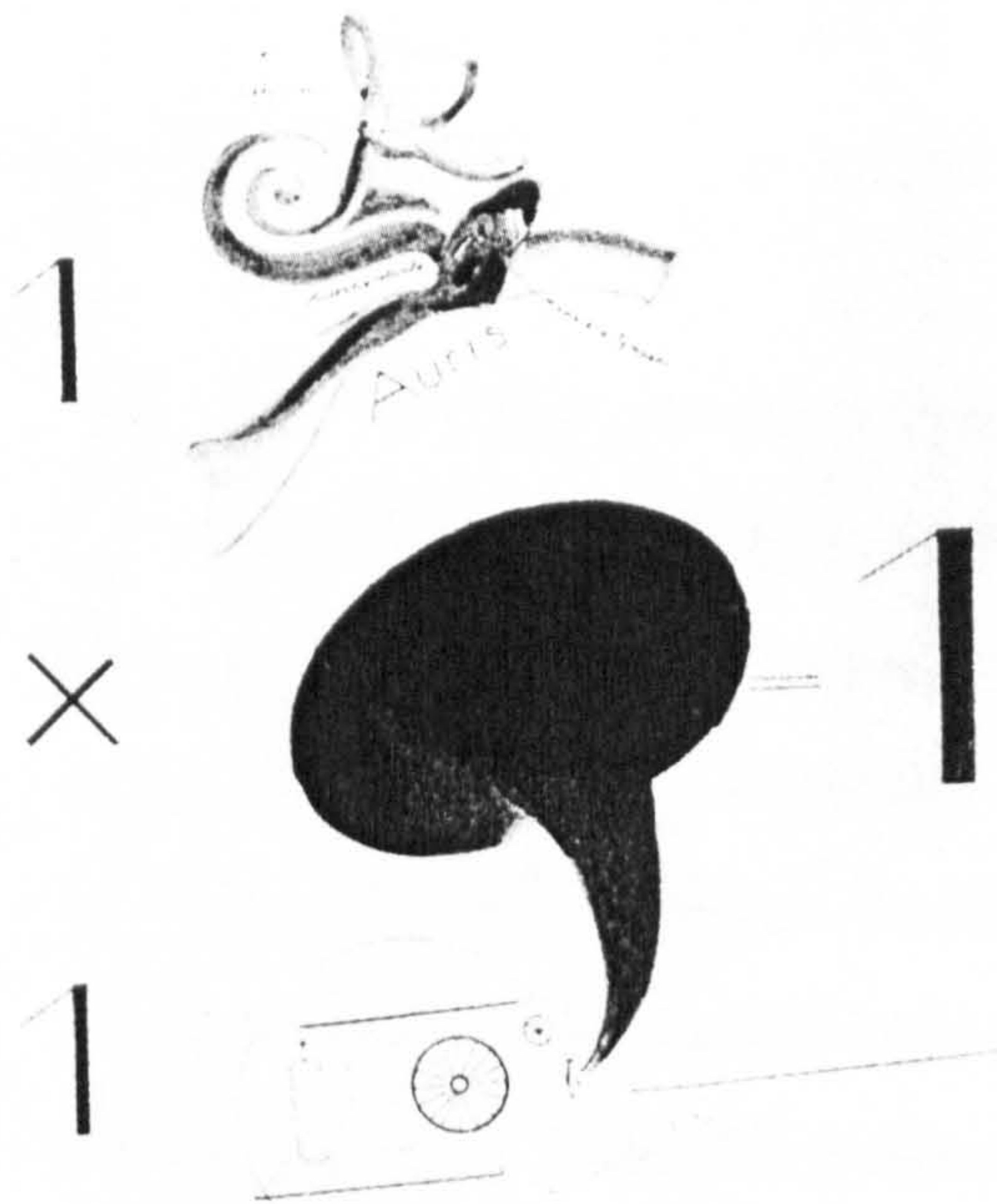
In contrast, the linear text, relying on sequential, reasoned argument is the antidote to the spatial simultaneity and distracted consumption of imagery

because its reader has to make a conscious attempt to understand its meanings within a narrative convention. The linear text has a dialectical relationship to the catalogue of images; between these two poles different degrees of dream-consciousness take place. However, distracted experience remains even within the written text and is related to its typographic arrangement, binding, paper, layout and font. All these factors, although often overlooked, affect how the text is read. Even the most focused and attentive of readers may lose sight of the complexity of these subtler signifying functions of the text.

Benjamin's work on the reproduction of the collective unconscious through two- and three-dimensional dream-images is particularly relevant to architectural education. He highlighted subliminal architectural sign-consumption as a key area of social reproduction, and linked it to capitalist social relations. Recognising the emergence of the simulacrum in media culture, he also found forms of resistance to its processes of aestheticisation. His work is therefore useful for the examination of the architectural unconscious produced by two-dimensional self-presentations—of both architectural education and practice.

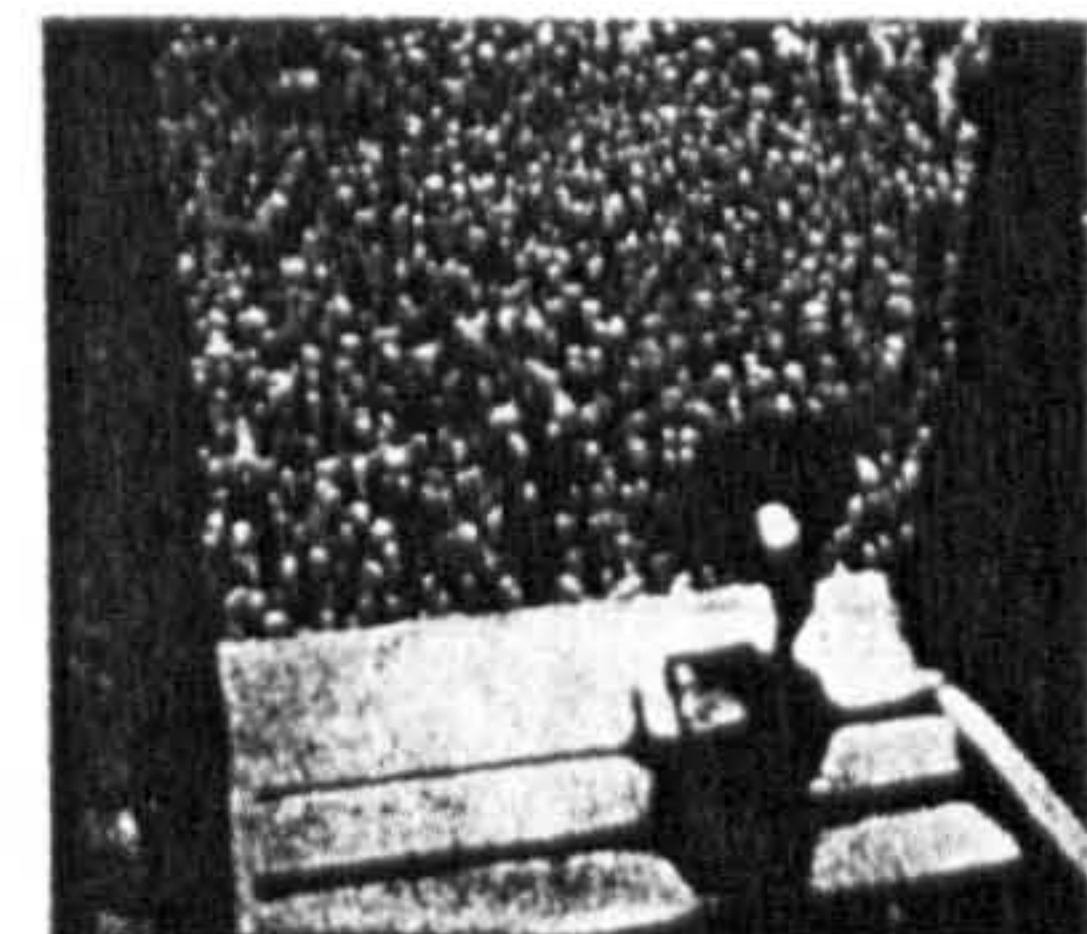
Benjamin's belief in the transformation of simulacra into dialectical images establishes him as a powerful critic of Baudrillard's fetishism of hopelessness. For Benjamin, art and architecture had a political function. The task of the intellectual (and, by implication, the educator) was to make this function visible and so make its tools available for the critical and creative transformation of social conditions. His work implies that it is

possible to awaken from the sleep of the simulacrum. It is therefore important to look at examples of Benjamin's method in greater detail to establish its usefulness for examining imagery produced within architectural education.

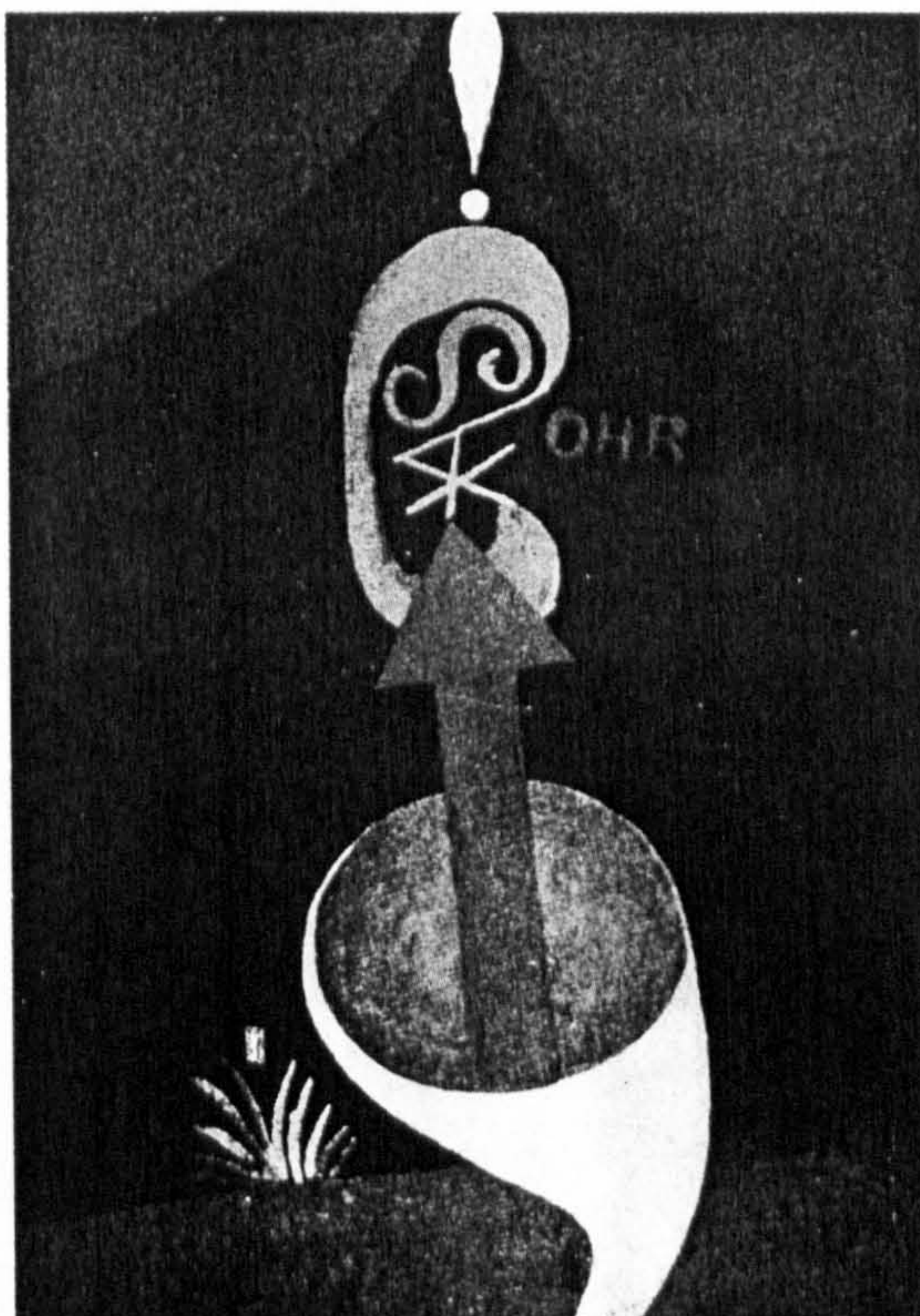


oskar schlemmer:
variation.
red and black ink. 1924

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photograph from maga-
zine showing crowd and
loudspeaker. the plates on
this and the opposite page
are individual variations
on this photograph, after
an idea of moholy-nagy,
which were made up into
a portfolio as a birthday
gift to walter gropius



paul klee: variation.
tempera. 1924

3.2 Works by Bauhaus masters for Gropius' birthday portfolio *Bauhaus 1919-1928*, 1975 ed., p. 196

3.2. Dialectical Images

To articulate the past historically does not mean to recognize it 'the way it really was' (Ranke). It means to seize hold of a memory as it flashes up in a moment of danger. Historical materialism wishes to retain that image of the past which unexpectedly appears to man singled out by history at a moment of danger. The danger affects both the content of the tradition and its receivers. The same threat hangs over both: that of becoming the tool of the ruling classes.

Walter Benjamin Theses on the Philosophy of History (1968b, 255)

The most important contribution of Benjamin's work on the Arcades Project was his concept of the dialectical image. Benjamin saw signs as ideological, containing the seeds of a political awakening. Signs became ideological the moment they could be seen critically, through the coming to consciousness of their consumers. Dream-images whose ideological content had been made visible were dialectical images. A dialectical image was one in which its ideological content became visible, as a repressive 'tale of catastrophe' and as a liberating representation of social utopia. The term dialectic is important because it emphasises the simultaneity of the negative and positive content of the image and therefore its potential to represent both oppression and redemption.

The negative dialectic of the architectural dream-images studied in the Arcades Project emerged from a collective awareness of the Arcades' class

origin in exploitation. The positive dialectic sprung from the recognition of the Arcades' symbolic promise of universal abundance in a classless society created by new technologies. Once architectural dream-images entered consciousness, the urban population could translate their dialectical potential into political action. The dreaming collective could awaken from its unconscious dream-state to challenge social inequality and construct a utopian society.

Benjamin saw his role (as an intellectual) as the collective psychoanalyst of the ideological content of dream-images. He hoped to adapt the Freudian techniques of stream-of-consciousness used by the Surrealists and Dadaists in visual and literary collage to the analysis of images and built form. Louis Aragon's book *Paris Peasant* formed (Buck-Morss 1989, 33) the inspiration for the *Arcades Project*. He saw the Surrealists' uncritical and child-like representation of the experience of the city as similar to the unconscious absorption of commodity fetishes by the urban population of the Arcades. However, he believed the Surrealists were trapped within their own child-like world, incapable of awakening the dreaming collective and translating its dream-countenance into political consciousness. He therefore turned to the theories of Marx.

Buck-Morss writes that Benjamin agreed with Marx (115) that the potential of new means of production to lead to a classless society in the nineteenth century was limited by capitalist class relations. These were the cause of the class-based distortion of the dream-images in the Arcades. Likewise, he saw this limit as one of not only the political economy, which produced

class relations but, more importantly to him as a writer and intellectual, as one of the entertainment industry which reproduced class consciousness. Class control of the production and reproduction processes prevented the emergence of new social forms. He saw his greatest cultural effectiveness in exposing the limits of capitalist social relations and transforming dream images into dialectical images for the imagining of a new social order.

For Benjamin, as for Marx, technology had the potential to introduce a classless society because it could free the worker from drudgery, create abundance and provide new tools for the social imagination. However, for Benjamin (1978a, 220-38), the utopian potential of new technology was distorted at the time of its emergence because unequal class relations prevented the working class from using the new technology. In the case of architecture, unequal social relations were embodied in the middle classes' control of architectural education, construction and finance and architectural dream-images could not therefore directly represent new social practices.

The utopian content of architecture could only be represented indirectly (Buck-Morss 1989, 114-7), through ur-historical images—architectural symbols that used historical motifs to mythically represent ideas of a classless society. Ur-images had a specific utopian function, related to Benjamin's visual and spatial view of history, demonstrated by the terms 'montage' and 'constellation' which he used to describe his historical method in the Arcades Project.

The technique of montage, borrowed from the Dadaists was central (Benjamin 1972, 574) to his ambitions:

Method of this work: literary montage. I have nothing to say, only to show.

The montage method could be applied, to begin with, almost unconsciously. In a second step, however, it was used to create a historical constellation, whose construction was conscious and critically informed. Buck-Morss writes (Buck-Morss 1989, 220) that

[a]s an immediate, quasi-mystical apprehension, the dialectical image was intuitive. As a philosophical 'construction', it was not. Benjamin's laborious and detailed study of past texts, his careful inventory of the fragmentary parts he gleaned from them, and the planned use of these in deliberately constructed 'constellations' were all sober, self-reflective procedures, which, he believed, were necessary in order to make visible a picture of truth that the fictions of conventional history writing covered over.

Benjamin intended the Arcades project to begin with an assembly of facts. The montage of facts, (Buck-Morss 1989, 220) in the form of

'[t]he dialectic' allowed the superimposition of fleeting images, present and past, that made both suddenly come alive in terms of revolutionary meaning.

Ur-images emerged out of the construction of historical constellations through acts of montage, through its collapse of linear historical time and hierarchy and 'in a flash' released utopian potential. This method allowed Benjamin to believe (1968, 263) that the materialist historian:

grasps the constellation which his own era has formed with a definite earlier one. Thus he establishes a conception of the present as the 'time of the now' which is shot through with chips of Messianic time.

In Messianic time an ur-image—a distant and often overlooked historical moment—was redeemed by the historian's ability (Benjamin 1968, 262) to 'blast open the continuum of history' and collapse the past onto the present. The montage released the dialectical content of the present by exposing it as (256) a 'document of barbarism' and as (263-264) a utopian moment—a 'strait gate through which the Messiah might enter'.

Buck-Morss (Buck-Morss 1989, 243) sees Benjamin's search for utopia as an expression of collective desire. She asks of Benjamin's view of history:

Is unfulfilled utopian potential a psychological category (a wish of the collective unconscious) or a metaphysical one (the very essence of the objective world)?

She continues by answering that although

[c]ontemporary psychoanalytic theory might argue that the desire for immediate presence can never be fulfilled. ... The point is, rather, that this utopian desire must and can be trusted as the motivation of political action.

The dreaming collective can only emancipate itself if it becomes aware of its own condition of repression and, far more importantly, its own condition of desire. The intellectual can stimulate a collective awakening from the collective dream-sleep of architecture by using political theory for a psychoanalytic purpose.

Benjamin's method of montage lay close to the psychoanalytic technique of stream-of-consciousness. Psychoanalysis provided a structure through which the symbolism of initially unconscious and spatially or temporally disconnected images could be traced back to lived, collective, historical experience. Marxian political theory, applied to such experience, then revealed its class dimension and led to the political consciousness crucial for the transformation of capitalist society. Buck-Morss writes (281) that Benjamin:

found in Marx a justification for the conception of a collective dream, and in Freud an argument for the existence of class differences within it.

Benjamin painstakingly collected documents of the Arcades with an eventual ambition to construct dialectical images of nineteenth century capitalism. Although this project was never completed, Buck-Morss sets out examples of his method which show how he intended the analysis to work.

For Benjamin the utopian possibilities of the new steel and glass technologies of the Arcades were simultaneously concealed and promised (as symbolic distortions) by encrustations of historical symbolism. In the latter part of the nineteenth century the industrial technologies of the Arcades were 'merely new' and therefore unable to directly represent the potential of new technology. Their utopian potential was represented in a distorted manner, through historical symbols. Buck-Morss (1989, 117, author's italics) writes:

By attaching themselves as surface ornamentation to the industrial and technological forms which have just come into existence, collective wish images imbue the merely new with radical political meaning, inscribing visibly on the products of the new means of production an ur-image of the desired social *ends* of their development.

An awakened consciousness was only possible by transforming dream images into dialectical images, by separating technology from decoration. This process separated historical symbols of utopia from architectural decoration and revealed technology as the practical means for achieving their utopian promise. The conscious realisation by an awakened and self-aware collective that a socialist use of technology could lead to the future

emancipation of humankind from drudgery and oppression was, for Benjamin (1972, 176) the 'utilisation of dream elements in waking ... the textbook example of dialectical thought'.

Benjamin had an architectural model for his theories. In the notes for the *Arcades Project* he quoted both Siegfried Giedion (Buck-Morss 1989, 126-127) and Le Corbusier (149-151), using illustrated examples from both authors and sharing their celebration of the release of technology from the distorting effects of decoration. Benjamin drew on Le Corbusier's writings, and in particular his images in *Vers une architecture*, (Le Corbusier 1923) for examples of the transformation of dream images into dialectical images. In the Parisian Arcades the decorative stonework and ironwork used motifs of Greek gods and goddesses to signify bourgeois desires for a society of material plenty and political democracy. Benjamin, borrowed Le Corbusier's juxtaposition of American industrial grain elevators and the Greek temple to show that new technologies were both ur-forms (the grain elevator as the Greek temple symbolising democracy) and anticipatory symbols of social utopia (the abundance of grain).

Benjamin's political analysis of Le Corbusier's architectural dream-images went further than their author ever intended. Le Corbusier (1970, 188) wrote of a new society only in formal and emotive terms:

We shall be able to talk 'Doric' when man, in nobility of aim and complete sacrifice of all that is accidental in Art, has reached the higher levels of the mind: austerity.

For Le Corbusier, the austerity of the Doric temple embodied the spirit (122) of modern technology and standardisation — 'The Parthenon is a product of selection applied to a standard'. It was not necessarily a symbol for a new social order. Benjamin, however, consciously linked the Corbusian juxtaposition of the Greek temple and twentieth-century grain silo to the democratic political associations of the Greek temple and the utopian promise of new industrial technology. Le Corbusier's semi-conscious juxtaposition of two dream-images became, in Benjamin's reinterpretation, the first part in the dialectical process.

Benjamin believed that the representation of unadorned technology would suggest the new social order far more effectively than the symbolic but distorted dream-images of historical architectural decoration. Le Corbusier's architecture, unlike the encrusted forms of the Arcades, therefore more directly represented the potential of new construction technologies. Here, the condition of 'not yet' had been partially overcome. For Benjamin, Le Corbusier's juxtaposition of Doric temples with silos and motorcars formed the first stage of a transformation of dream-image into dialectical image. However, because in such juxtapositions the potential for transforming social relations remained hidden and the dialectic remained a symbolic one, Le Corbusier's silo-temple did not promise a new political order. Its utopia (Le Corbusier's 'new spirit') was a bourgeois one. Form would prevent rather than foment revolution.

For Benjamin the image continued to hold a dialectical potential, if only as an image. It could still become, in a second and subsequent transformation, a political tool for imagining and enacting a new society. Its promise of the transformation of architecture by technology had not yet been fulfilled. The second step depended on the emergence of a collective consciousness and ownership of new technologies. Yet he was all too aware of the enormous obstacles preventing the realisation of this last step. His own suicide when faced, as a Jew, with the prospect of Nazi capture just miles away from the freedom of the Spanish border was perhaps the most poignant testament to the ultimate loss of faith in utopia necessitated by his historical context.

The relationship between utopia and technology in Le Corbusier's images and their interpretation by Benjamin as potential dialectical images shows a difference between their symbolic role for each author. Le Corbusier's wish to avoid social upheaval through technological formalism resembles the agenda Baudrillard ascribes to the Bauhaus. By extracting an aesthetic code from the grain silo, Le Corbusier gave it a value (design) which relied on aesthetic reproduction rather than political transformation of social relations. Le Corbusier's new architecture heralded the age of simulation. In contrast, Benjamin focused the conventions of critical history and utopian psychoanalysis on the dream images of the present. He examined the two Corbusian images historically, tracing their meaning backwards to the conditions of their production and forwards to their utopian promise.

In this way Benjamin saw history as a space within which nothing was potentially lost. He wanted to redeem the past for the present by rescuing

those events which threatened to disappear because they challenged, or were of no use to, the bourgeois victors' tale of history as progress (1968b, 263):

Historicism contents itself with establishing a causal connection between various moments in history. But no fact that is a cause is for that very reason historical. It became historical posthumously, as it were, through events that may be separated from it by thousands of years. A historian which takes this as his point of departure stops telling the sequence of events like the beads of a rosary. Instead he grasps the constellation which his own era has formed with a definite earlier one. Thus he establishes a conception of the present as the 'time of the now' which is shot through with chips of Messianic time.

Benjamin's historical method rescued and re-combined historical moments which were about to be lost. In the case of the *Arcades Project* the physical demolition of the arcades in Benjamin's day concretely represented this moment of imminent loss. Their disappearance and the lack of their historical documentation prompted him to write about architecture and commodities, crucial to his critique of capitalism.

Buck-Morss affirms Benjamin's commitment to political change through the writing of a Marxian history (Buck-Morss 1989, x):

His aim was to destroy the mythic immediacy of the present, not by inserting it into a cultural continuum that affirms the present as its culmination, but by discovering that constellation of historical origins

which has the power to explode history's 'continuum.' In the era of industrial culture, consciousness exists in a mythic state, against which historical knowledge is the only antidote. But the particular kind of historical knowledge that is needed to free the present from myth is not easily uncovered. Discarded and forgotten, it lies buried within surviving culture, remaining invisible precisely because it was of so little use to those in power.

Her emphasis on the potential of Benjamin's historical analysis to stimulate the collective desire for political change, and her identification of hidden or discarded histories as the key loci of that analysis suggests both the tools and the objects through which historical memory and thus political will can be changed. She continues (Buck-Morss 1989, x-xi):

Benjamin makes us aware that the transmission of culture (high and low), which is central to this rescue operation, is a political act of the highest import—not because culture in itself has the power to change the given, but because historical memory affects decisively the collective, political will for change. Indeed, it is its only nourishment.

Here Marx's desire to reform 'the consciousness which is unclear to itself' and to realise 'something that it can acquire if only it becomes conscious of it' becomes a feasible, practical project—one that Benjamin took up with great dedication.

Benjamin's contribution to history and criticism is important because he was one of the first cultural critics to focus on reproduction and consumption rather than production as the fulcrum of twentieth-century capitalism. His work accompanied the arrival of media society during the inter-war period and anticipated its post-war expansion. His work identified a lineage for the subliminal mechanisms that consumer capitalism uses today with ever greater persuasiveness. Finally, it provided a critical analytical framework through which the atemporal and aspatial 'dream-consciousness' could re-awaken through the juxtaposition of utopian desire and Marxian 'history as a tale of catastrophe'. The resonance between the traumas of the past and dreams of the future could expose the continued injustice in the present.

Such historical resonances could, for Benjamin, also redeem those aspects of the past which were previously prevented from coming to fruition and so remained hidden to historical view. Through detailed critical analysis the Marxian historian/psychoanalyst could release the dreams and failures of the past from their conditions of repression. Benjamin's writings in the *Arcades Project* added imagery and three-dimensional architectural form to the critical historian/analyst's traditional literary tools.

Benjamin's positive view of dialectical history to awaken the dreaming collective therefore counters the Baudrillardian fetishism of hopelessness. It places commodity signs alongside other cultural products as political objects and tools, rather than neutered elements in an endless and ultimately meaningless system of exchange. For Benjamin, unlike Baudrillard, signification remained one of the key weapons through which social

injustice could be exposed and fought. He perceived a reality beyond the commodity sign: the continuing exploitation of the working class within the capitalist economic and social order. Whereas Baudrillard dismisses Marxian social and economic theory as a simulacrum, for Benjamin it formed the primary tool with which to awaken the 'dreaming collective'.

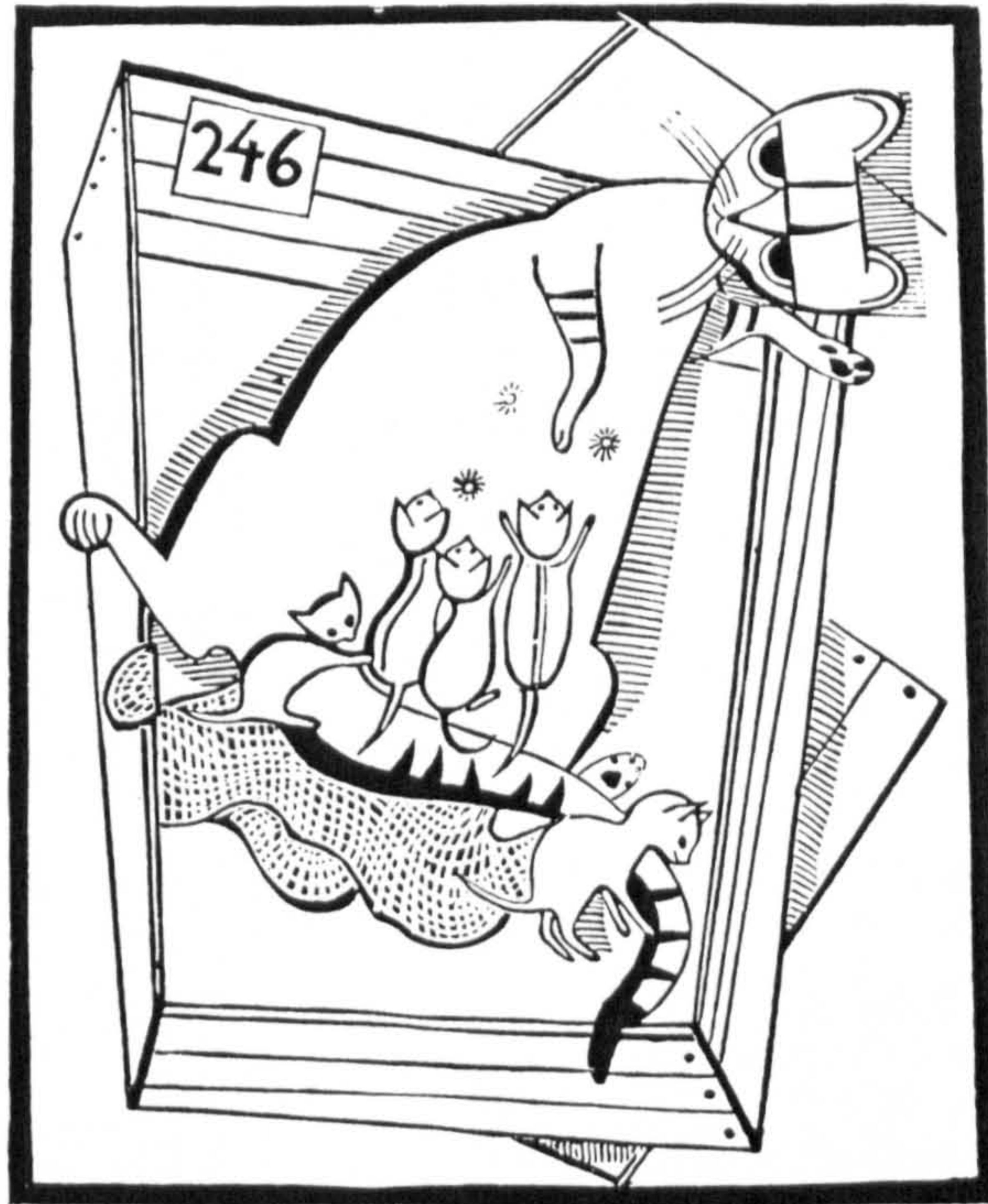
Benjamin's theory of dream-images and dialectical images therefore forms a useful framework for dissimulating the simulacrum. The dream-image and simulacrum share certain common characteristics. They emerge out of processes of mechanical reproduction and commodity exchange. They are both consumed in a passive state. They deny their own historical, geographical and social specificity. However, whereas the experience of the simulacrum consists of a knowing, fascinated recognition of the code of the medium, the dream-image, similarly encoded, is experienced unconsciously. Although I argue that this is the main difference between them, I feel that the two forms of experience have the same effect: they engender passive consumers and deny critical political practice through signs. I argue that Benjamin's distracted experience and Baudrillard's fetishism of the code are both forms of dream-sleep and that the Baudrillardian simulacrum is a contemporary type of dream-image.

However, Benjamin aligned himself with Marxist intellectuals because he wanted to resist the growing aestheticisation of politics and cultural activity and expose the continuing exploitation of the working class by the National Socialists in inter-war Germany. Although Baudrillard's description of the

age of simulation suggests that such an aestheticisation of politics and culture continues today, Baudrillard himself sees little use for resistance.

Here, Buck-Morss' analysis of the positive potential of Benjamin's work is crucial as an antidote to Baudrillard. She affirms the ideological power of images. She provides some architectural examples. In the section (341-375) titled 'Afterimages' she begins to apply the montage technique to create a dialectical juxtaposition of Benjaminian and contemporary sources. She clearly suggests that images in their dream-form and their dialectical form originate in conditions of desire and repression. She sees both as powerful political forces with a positive potential. She emphasises the link between the aesthetic, socio-economic and psychoanalytic aspects of Benjamin's position. Buck-Morss' analysis of Benjamin is, however, limited in two ways. First, although Benjamin's constellation model is inherently three-dimensional, her understanding remains literary. Despite the complex structure of her argument and the organisation of her book, her visual analysis is linear and diagrammatic. It has very little spatial sensibility. Second, she is uncritical of Benjamin's modernist and therefore specifically historically located interpretation of the redeeming utopian content of new construction technology, which he derives from Giedion. Third, her discussion of psychoanalytic theory remains centred on Freud and therefore ignores the developments in theories of desire made by Lacan and feminist psychoanalysis. This may be because she wishes to remain true to the knowledge base of the historical period under examination, but it does limit the application of her and Benjamin's ideas.

Nevertheless, Buck-Morss' work suggests that some of the critical tools useful to Benjamin fifty years ago may still be appropriate for the analysis of the simulacrum. The purpose of my dissertation is to take the methodology of Benjamin and Buck-Morss and supplement it with more recent theoretical material to construct a constellation of texts and images pertinent to architectural education across a broad historical spectrum. In the next two chapters I rescue Marxian economics and sociology from Baudrillardian oblivion, and re-couple it with feminist psychoanalytic theories of fantasy and desire to later redeem the dialectical potential of architectural images of the Bauhaus.



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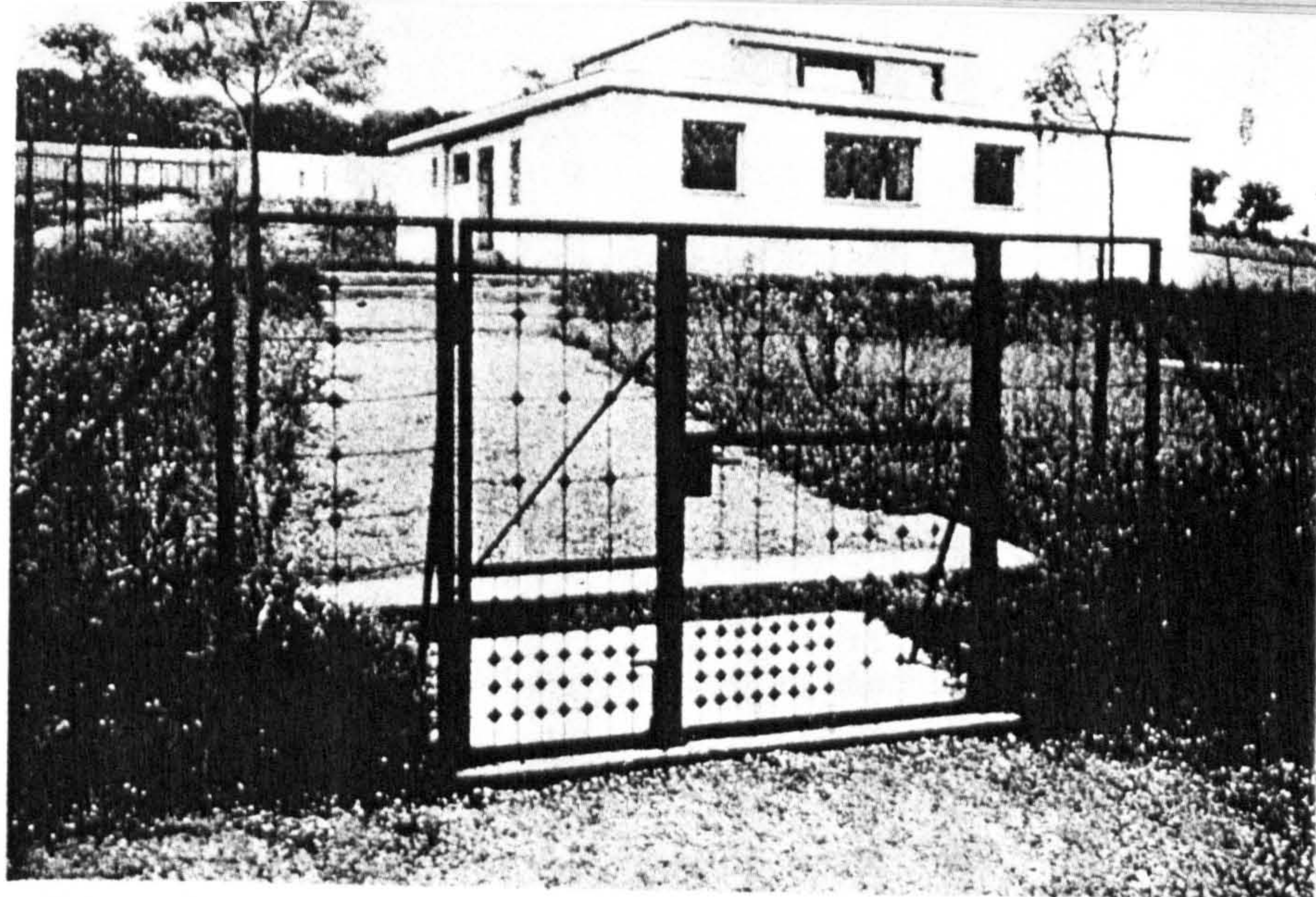
gerhard marcks:
mother cat.
woodcut. 1922.
courtesy j. b. neumann



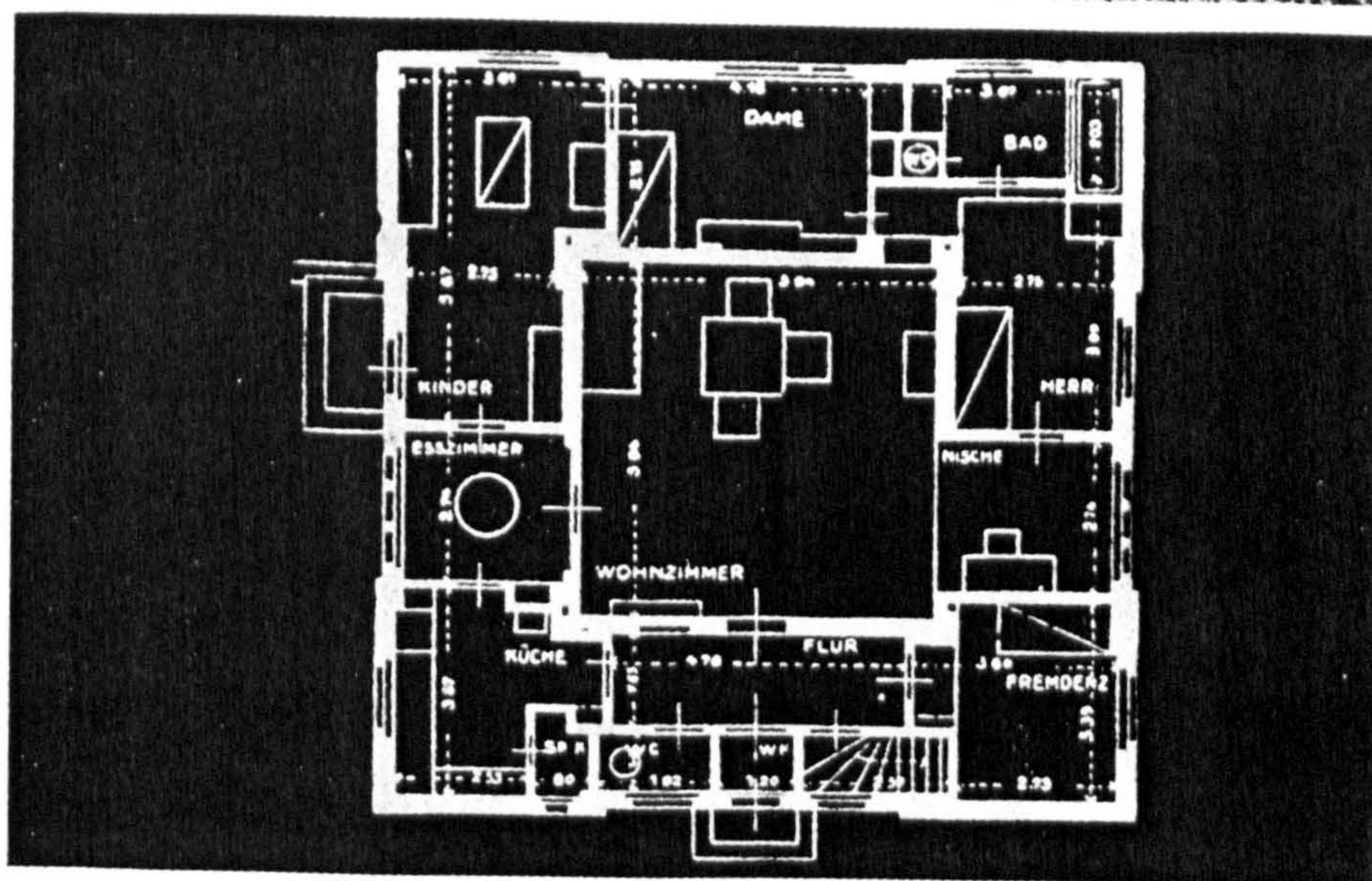
gerhard marcks:
cain and abel.
woodcut. 1923

Chapter 4. **Economy**

Experimental building, the house "Am Horn," Weimar. 1923

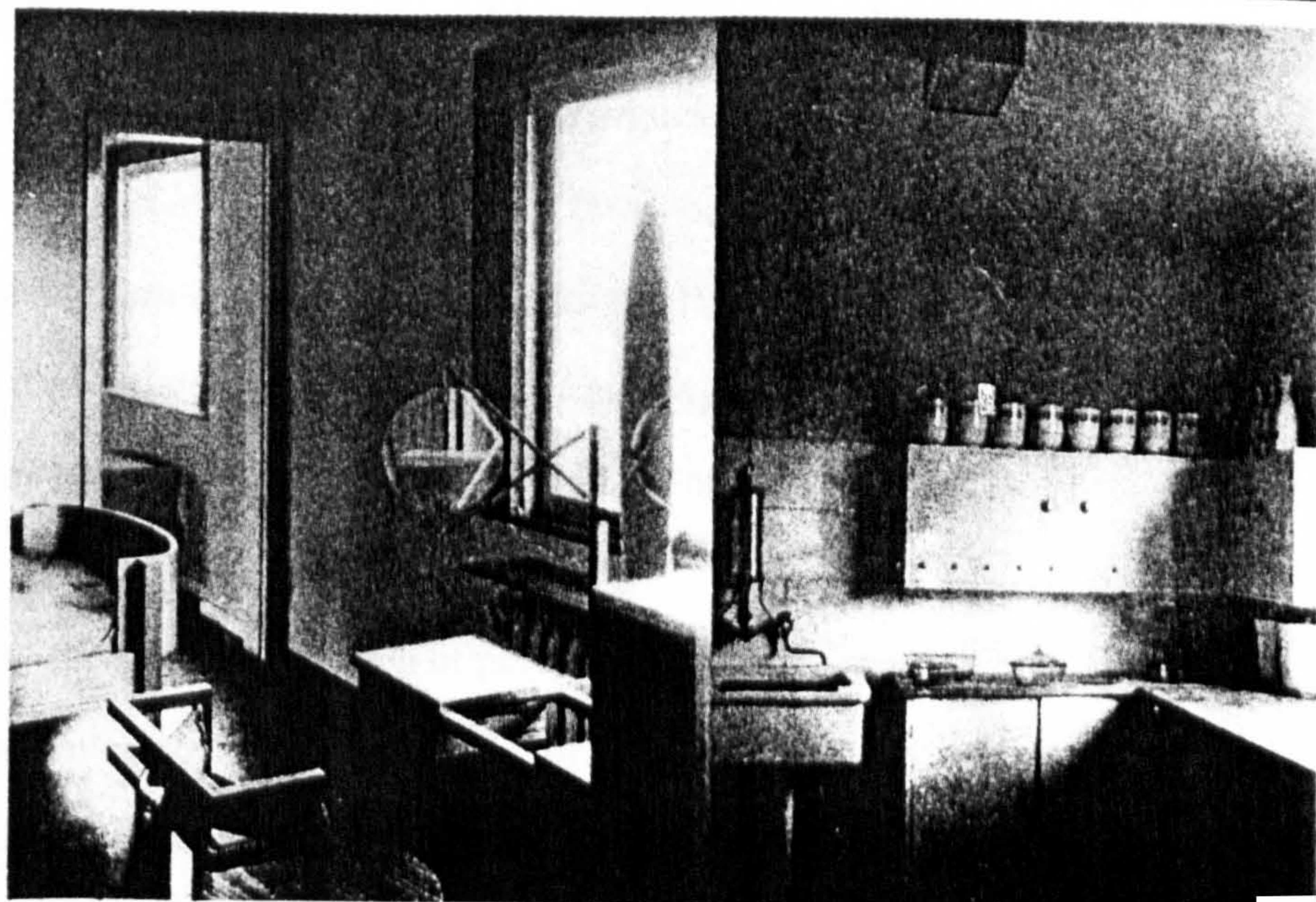


The house "Am Horn," Weimar. Floor plan



82

The house "Am Horn," Weimar. Left Corner of bedroom. Right Kitchen



4.1. Economy and Signification

There are times when development in all areas of the capitalist economy—in the field of technology, the financial markets, commerce, colonies—has matured to the point where an extraordinary expansion of the world market must occur. World production as a whole will be raised to a new and more all-embracing level. At this point capital begins to enter upon a period of tempestuous advance.

I. Helphand Die Handelskrisen und die Gewerkschaften
(Parvus 1972, 26)

Benjamin and Baudrillard both draw on Marxian economic and political theory to translate their analysis of mass-reproduction from the world of objects to that of signs. Benjamin was the first to expose the aestheticisation of a new form of commodity—the mass-produced sign of the culture industry. Baudrillard develops Benjamin's analyses by inverting and negating the orthodoxies of Marxian economics. He argues that areas of the economy dismissed by Marx as inessential (media, fashion, communication and information networks) today drive global capitalism. He therefore suggests that classical Marxian political economy is no longer useful and therefore cannot act as the ultimate determinant of cultural activity.

Benjamin's critique of the mass-production of perception suggests that simulacra continue to have a repressive economic and political function. Supported by contemporary Marxian critiques, this view suggests that an

economic critique of the Simulation Order is possible. Recent Marxian economic theory bears this out (Mandel 1978, 387):

[m]echanization, standardization, over-specialization and parcellization of labour, which in the past determined only the realm of commodity production in actual industry, now penetrate into all sectors of social life.

Mandel continues that:

[t]he 'profitability' of universities, music academies and museums starts to be calculated in the same way as that of brick works or screw factories.

Simulation becomes a further phase in the development of capitalism, representing an expanding 'sign economy' (the service sector) and its subset, the 'image economy' (the media).

Mandel (395) also provides a clear critique of the Baudrillardian position:

Any rejection of the so-called 'consumer society' which moves beyond justified condemnation of the commercialization and dehumanization of consumption by capitalism to attack the historical extension of needs and consumption in general (i.e. moves from social criticism to a critique of civilization), turns back the clock from scientific to utopian socialism and from historical materialism to idealism.

Harland (Harland 1987, 177), criticises Baudrillard's faith in the simulacrum as 'a position of the very highest metaphysical idealism'. Idealism and utopianism give Baudrillard's theories their totalitarian seductiveness but, by rejecting their relationship to a complex material reality, also limit their usefulness as critical tools.

The aim of the first section of this chapter is therefore to place Baudrillard's orders of simulacra within a broader economic and social context and suggest that changes in the orders of signification correspond to changes in economic activity and in particular to changes in production technologies. However, the historical distance between the inter-war period of Benjamin, and the present of Baudrillard, also implies that an economic analysis of Benjaminian dream-images and Baudrillardian simulacra may, in part, require different economic models.

The second purpose of this chapter is to identify the relative significance of economic models common to pre-and post-War periods, and those that distinguish one period from the other. The three sections of this chapter together establish a brief Marxian economic theory and history of simulation. I use this later to suggest an economic base for historical transformation of dream-images in architectural education.

Benjamin and Baudrillard share a theoretical grounding in Marxian economics and its focus on commodity fetishism. Both authors develop György Lukács' premise (1971, 83), that 'the problem of commodities ...

(is) the central, structural problem of capitalist society in all its aspects.' The concept of commodity fetishism is introduced by Marx in *Capital Vol.1* (Marx 1961-2). Roger Scruton, in *A Dictionary of Political Thought* (1982, 76-7) summarises Marx's view of commodity fetishism as

the disposition of commodities to conceal the social nature of their production. Through the seemingly autonomous laws of the market, exchange-value appears as an objective and intrinsic property of commodities, 'inducing' the labour of the man who seeks to acquire them. In fact, however, this value is itself (according to the labour theory) *produced* by human labour. The labour of men therefore appears not as a human attribute but as an illusory power in the things which men produce.

Commodity fetishism therefore works through illusion. Illusion conceals the logic of social production and exchange that produces both the object and its value.

Benjamin relies on traditional Marxian analyses of the capitalist economy which emphasise its dependence on dividing and exploiting labour, splitting the commodity into use and exchange value, abstracting the exchange mechanism, creating surplus value by the working class for the consuming classes, and concealing production processes through commodity fetishism, which in turn sustains the consumption process. In this scenario, commodity fetishism is an inessential false consciousness of capitalist

production, masking the reality of labour and the unequal relations between occupational classes.

For Baudrillard (1983, 48) it is 'always a false problem to want to restore the truth beneath the simulacrum'. He quotes *Ecclesiastes* (1):

The simulacrum is never that which conceals the truth—it is the truth which conceals that there is none. The simulacrum is true'.

He argues that the traditionally inessential superstructural layer of signification now produces the system of value through which the late capitalist economic and cultural order reproduces itself. He believes this undermines the claim of Marxian economic theory that 'the economic' in the last instance determines cultural activity. Instead, he suggests it is the cultural order of signification, already inherent in economic activity, that structures the capitalist order.

Traditional Marxian economic theory, in part at least, offers a counter-argument to Baudrillard. Helphand's quote at the beginning of this section follows Marx in suggesting that cyclical transformation of production technologies rather than consumption and circulation lie behind major shifts in capitalist economies and culture. As each major technology expands, rises to dominance, reaches its productive limit and declines, it is overtaken by a new one, bringing with it a new cultural order. Marx himself suggested several key phases in the history and technologies of production consisting of the Asiatic, ancient, feudal and modern bourgeois modes.

Traditional Marxism would therefore see Baudrillard's Feudal, Counterfeit, Production and Simulation Orders as periods of economic and technological development. These periods would be subsets of the modern bourgeois mode of production. The dominance of signification in the twentieth century would thus be the culmination of a long term expansion of new means of production (mass-media), leading to new relations of production (orders of simulacra). Applying a traditional Marxian cultural and economic model to the late twentieth century, simulation uses superstructure partly as economic base. This interpretation, close to Benjamin, combines a Marxian understanding of production with a Baudrillardian understanding of media culture, but subsumes neither under the other. Just as Marx used the ultimate determinant of 'the economic' to explain the production of commodities in the nineteenth century, so Baudrillard's uses the ultimate determinant of 'the semiological' to explain the production and reproduction of commodity signs in the twentieth century.

To show Baudrillard's orders of signification as changes in technologies of reproduction, the following sections examine two periods of economic transition: from the Feudal Order to the Counterfeit Order, and from the Production Order to the Simulation Order. They present a brief economic history of simulation. The re-emergence of relations of production and reproduction as categories useful for the analysis of simulation returns part of the argument to Marxist categories of class and exploitation and thence to the political role of cultural activity.



Johannes Itten: Diagrammatic analysis of the Adoration of the Magi by Master Francke. c. 1919
From Johannes Itten's *Tagebuch*



Erna Niemeyer. Light and shade analysis of an Annunciation. 1922

Johannes Itten: Study of hand positions while drawing the figure eight. 1919. From Johannes Itten's *Tagebuch*

Die Hauptstellungen der Hand zu dem Zeichen der Acht ∞



Johannes Itten: Geometric analysis of the Adoration of the Magi, by Master Francke (Hamburg, Kunsthalle). c. 1919. From Johannes Itten's *Tagebuch*

4.2 Studies based on medieval masters in Itten's *Vorkurs*, *Bauhaus 1919-1928*, 1975 ed., p. 35

4.2. Feudalism to Mercantilism

For just as in thy body, Jake, thy hands have been ordained to work for thy head and thy feet and thine eyes, just so the common people and the Lords have been disposed by God to work for the holy church ... the sun is holy church and lordship is the moon and the stars are the commons.

Early 15th century Lollard poem (Holton 1990, 174)

The day-to-day economy of feudalism was based on barter, on symbolic exchange and on the unpaid labour of serfs, free men pressed into manorial service and women generally. Only free men had the right to sell their labour in the marketplace. Production was largely for use, not exchange. The basic unit of production was the family but it had fewer divisions of responsibility than in later times. Although international trade grew as the Middle Ages progressed, the value of goods and services was, on the whole, agreed locally. Banking was relatively unknown; profit as private capital accumulation was highly restricted by religious and secular institutions (Martin 1892, 113):

up to the beginning of the sixteenth century, it may be said that neither credit nor capital existed. So [sic] late as the reign of Edward VI., the accumulation of capital was distinctly discouraged.

The Middle Ages in general were a period of decline in population, cities, revenue and construction. Plagues and harvest failures led to a long-term shortage of labour. In addition (Kostof 1977, 67), 'the fall of the Empire spelled the end of slave labour upon which building, like all other dominant technologies, heavily relied'. Workers had to be prevented from taking advantage of their scarcity. Physical and social mobility of labour was restricted. This took place through serfdom, the protectionism of the guilds, and legislation and taxation.

At the bottom of the economic order, serfdom bound the worker to a feudal lord. The serf's geographical immobility and fixed social status (serfdom was hereditary) removed the exchange value of a large proportion of the available pool of labour. With some exceptions, only the aristocracy, pilgrims and free men could travel. Free men formed the most significant proportion of mobile labour and in principle could negotiate the value of their labour. Municipal legislation therefore restricted their mobility. All tradesmen had to belong to a guild, and had to be granted the right to trade by the municipality. 'Foreyns' (tradesmen not from the locality, even if members of a guild elsewhere) had to enter local employment for up to seven years before they would be eligible to buy the freedom of the city, to practice as masters of their craft, employ others and make a modest profit.

However, the economic value of free men was also determined by limiting their number - largely by guild legislation - which raised the value of their work. Guild members generally had to be either legitimate sons of free men or could (on rare occasions and at a high price) buy their freedom after a

long apprenticeship in a trade, followed by a period of employment as journeymen. In addition, guild statutes limited the numbers of apprentices to one per master at any one time. The right to apprenticeship was usually defined by family ties. In the Middle Ages the apprentice was usually a son of the master.

When Baudrillard (1983, 85) identifies the transition from 'a limited order of signs, which prohibits 'free production,' to a proliferation of signs according to demand' he refers not only to the release of social signifieds from the fixed codes of behaviour and meaning under feudalism, but to the freeing of economic ones as well. The story of money, especially profit, and of its producers, the goldsmiths, appears to serve Baudrillard's thesis well.

The value of feudal money directly reflected the value of its material. It was determined by the scarcity of gold, silver, copper or lead. If the value of labour was controlled by secular laws restricting its mobility, monetary value was restricted through the less overt operation of religious ideology, which attached the reproduction of money and the yearning for profit to immorality. The church saw profit-making as a challenge to divine control of all forms of procreation. In the Middle Ages (Churchill 1926, 25) 'trades that trafficked in money were considered illicit, materialism being an indication of a lack of faith'. The punishment for such sacrilege was eternal damnation; surplus cash would therefore often find its way back to church coffers as conscience money. Guilds relied on the church for the salvation of their members, and therefore obeyed religious orthodoxy. The Church

could not directly control the production of money because it would itself become complicit with its immorality. The monarchy therefore controlled the stamping of coinage. Together the Church and monarchy prevented the proliferation of money by limiting the reproduction of profit and the production of coinage.

The activities of the goldsmiths' guild in the Middle Ages serve as an example of the restrictions placed on the production of money through legislation controlling the mobility of its producers. As goldsmiths were responsible for nearly all production of objects in precious metals, the engraving of seals, the sale of gold and silver, the mints, verification of weights and measures, and were notorious for tinkering with weights and adulterating metals, control of their craft was crucial to both religious and secular authorities. Their guild statutes had to be approved by the King and aldermen of the city in which they lived, and were subject to significant amendments in favour of secular powers, with a clear trade-off between the monarchy and the craft. Severe punishments were meted out for corrupt assaying (testing) and touching (stamping with the goldsmiths mark). No goldsmith could work in secret, and London goldsmiths' workshops had to be sited in a single area of the city, with workspaces clearly visible to passers-by. The first known ordinance of the goldsmiths focuses on the making of 'false metals', the correct form of assaying goldsmiths' work and the 'touching' or 'marking', the stamping of work with a goldsmith's authorised mark. Such ordinances strictly forbade tampering with the value of precious metals. Most other craft ordinances, whilst containing articles regarding the quality of work, were largely concerned with rights of

gathering, entry, care of current members, their widows and the elderly and not the actual product of guild labour. Masons and goldsmiths thus obeyed the strictest statutes regarding their work.

However, within the overall structure of towns and cities, specific but small geographical areas existed outside the restrictive practices of the guilds. Such semi-autonomous zones (for example the free parish of Southwark) permitted foreigners, men 'freely begotten', men 'living in concubinage' as well as former villeins, serfs and vassals to settle and practice their craft for a profit. These areas increasingly became centres of economic and cultural wealth. Foreign goods and skills flowed through them, affecting local systems of monetary exchange. Cities also contained proto-capitalist, urban households producing goods outside the guild system for the open market that acted as centres of economic activity.

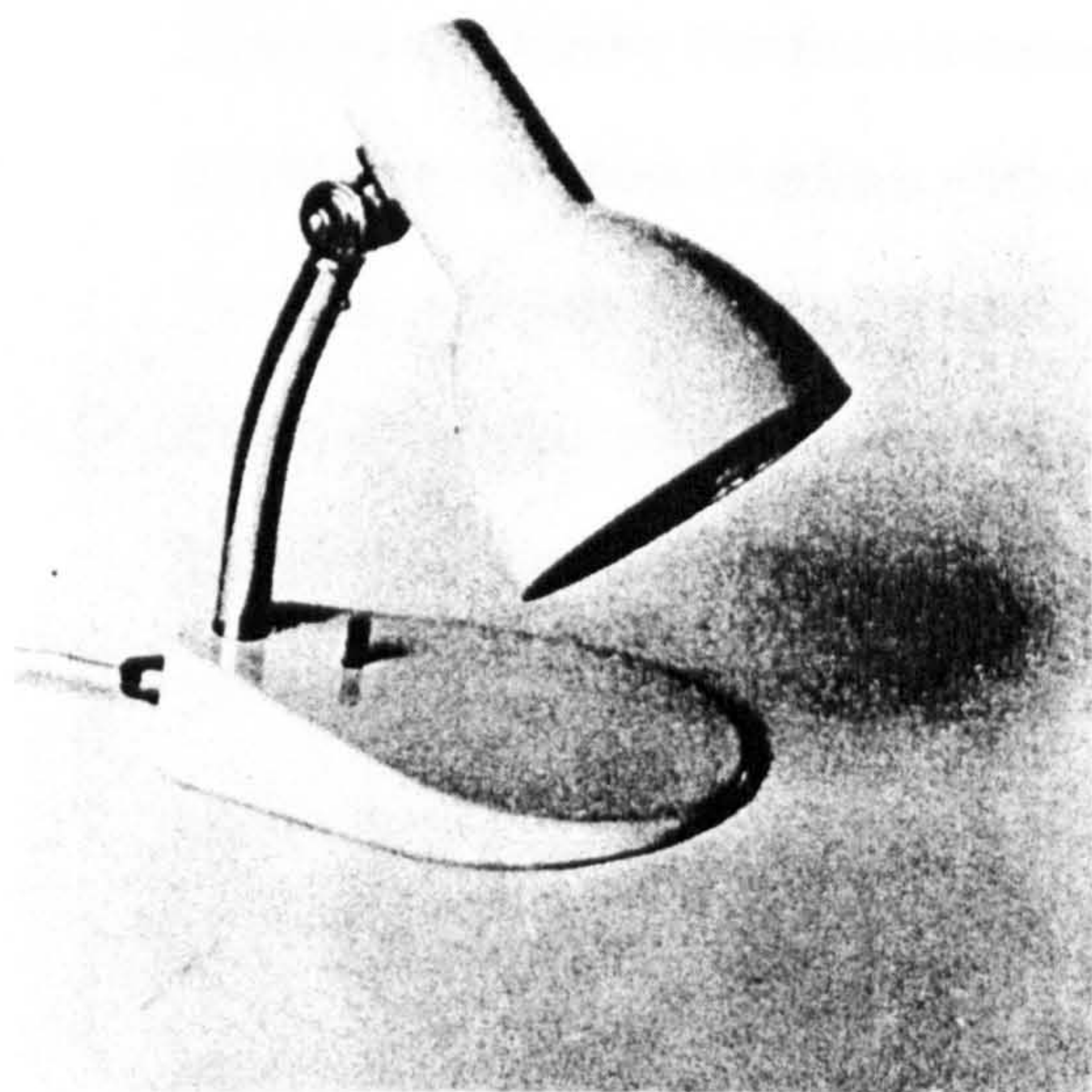
The relatively autonomous enclaves of guilds, urban households and free boroughs played a significant role in the shift from the feudal economy to mercantile capitalism. The guilds formed localised monopoly markets which enabled them to raise prices. P. Elliott (1972, 24) states that:

The guild system tended to make the skilled and expert producer rather than the consumer sovereign'.

The guilds could raise money through fixing higher prices and so acted as proto-banks. As labour shortages receded in the later Middle Ages, the

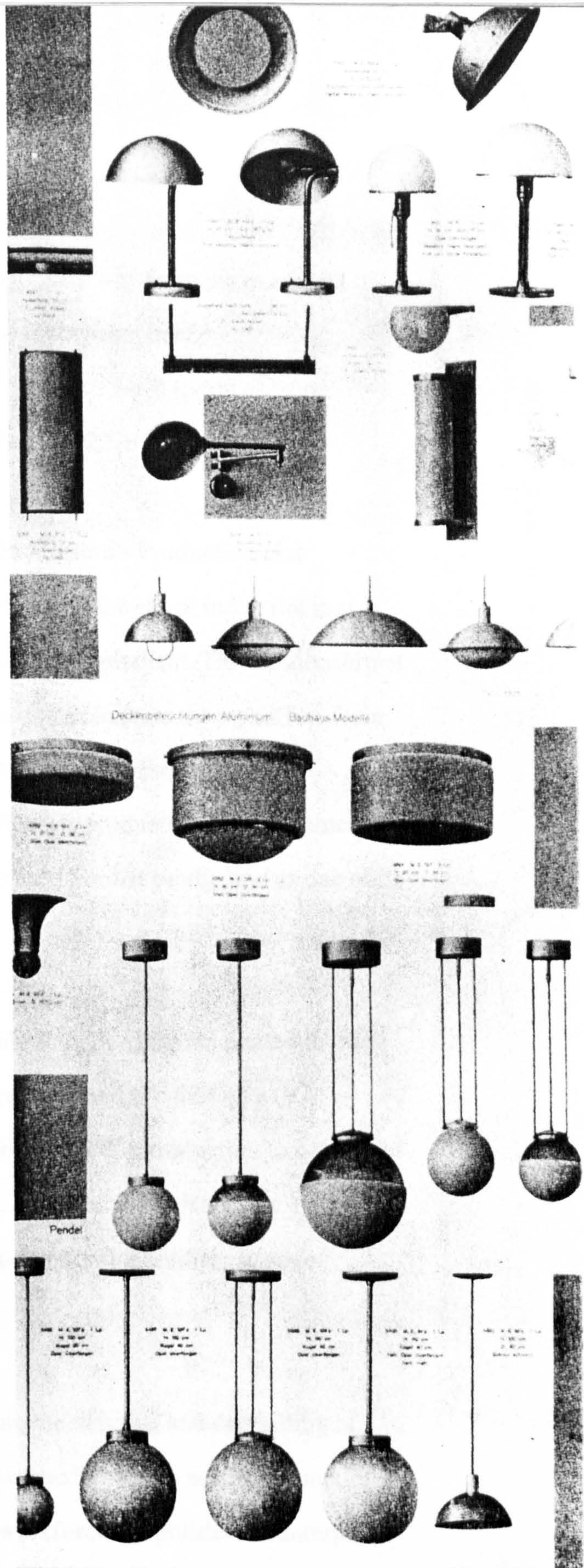
guilds grew bigger and acted as proto-banks for small community production.

Such examples suggest that the stable bonds between signs and things by which Baudrillard characterises the Feudal era, were not simply a cultural framework necessary to mirror and uphold a divine order of representations and social relations but had, in part at least, a socio-economic explanation. The economy and labour market was driven, until the high Middle Ages at the earliest, by scarcity (Kostof 1977, 79) of the dominant technology—that of manual labour. The rise in the population in the late Middle Ages, the growth of trade beyond the borders of Europe and especially the discovery of the New World in the fifteenth century ended the scarcity of labour and materials, encouraged technological innovation and raised productivity and commercial activity. The printing press was the key technological innovation of this era. The emergence of the modern bourgeois form of production (capitalism) from the fifteenth century onwards relied on several major changes in production: the proliferation and competition of indigenous labour, the acquisition of labour and material surplus through colonisation and, finally, the new reproducibility and mobility of signs through printing. Thus, contrary to Baudrillard's claims, the transition from the Feudal to the Counterfeit Order was not simply due to a change in signification, but also due to a significant shift in material conditions that replaced feudalism with mercantile capitalism.



Metal workshop:
Adjustable desk lamp.
1924

Pag. s from catalogs of
factories manufacturing
lighting fixtures from
Bauhaus designs



4.3 Bauhaus designs for mass-production *Bauhaus 1919-1928, 1938 ed., p. 139*

4.3. Fordism to post-Fordism

The idea [assembly line] came in a general way from the overhead trolley that the Chicago packers use in dressing beef.

Henry Ford My Life and Work (1922, 81, my brackets)

Fordism and post-Fordism resemble Baudrillard's Production and Simulation Orders. Fordism is associated with the era of industrial mass-production and post-Fordism with consumer capitalism. The relationship of Fordism and post-Fordism in contemporary economic theory differs from Baudrillard's historical separation of the Orders of Production and Simulation. The economic pluralism, flexible production and consumer choice of post-Fordism retains standardised Fordist production as one of its components.

Characterised by Henry Ford's assembly line, Fordism originated in the slaughterhouses of the mid-West and represented Baudrillard's (97) 'process of absorption of all original being and of introduction to a series of identical beings'. The slaughterhouses, a mid-nineteenth century phenomenon, marked the earliest birth-date for the Fordist pattern of production.

Fordism, depended on mass-production, the division and de-skilling of labour and later on mass-consumption embodied in the norms of functional housing, the standard car and a stable workforce. Its political counterpart

became the technocratic state appearing to manage the economy on behalf of the people but in fact providing a stable structure for capitalist development. Fordism implied universally shared use-values for consumer items and a homogenous working class, all centred around simple definitions of need. Baudrillard (1983, 102) feels that this is now a bygone era:

a time when you could still talk about the use-value of a sign or of force-of-work, when purely and simply, one could still talk about an economy because there was still a Reason of the sign, and a Reason of production.

The slaughterhouses were emblematic of Fordism because they removed the multiple skills of the worker from the production process and in its place introduced an abstracted body whose tasks, like the meat it handled, were broken down, quantified and made equivalent from worker to worker. Here, Baudrillard's observation might be paraphrased to say (97) that: In a series' carcasses' become undefined simulacra one of the other. And 'so, along with the objects, do the men that produce them'.

The slaughterhouses represented the shift of western economies, from the 1850s onwards, from agriculture to industrial mass-production where agriculture itself became an industry. Industrial trade relied on an expansion of the free market, balanced by national monopolies enacted through legislation by governments responding to pressure from corporate interests.

Quoting Polanyi, Larson writes (1977, 53-54) that

There is nothing natural about laissez faire ... laissez faire itself was enforced by the state ... [it] was not a method to achieve a thing, it was the thing to be achieved ... [C]orporate action was necessary to bring about state action in favour of laissez faire.

Industrialisation also led to the expansion of mass-transportation systems such as railways and shipping and a major influx of unskilled labour into towns. Money supply, then still based on the gold standard, greatly increased due to the discovery of gold in California, South Africa and Australia, fuelling commercial activity. Material, labour and money proliferated.

Fordism was a period of tremendous global expansion and competition for markets. It was the first economic era in which capital and its cycles gained international significance. English banks funded the railways of the American west and later US banks acted as major lenders to European economies, particularly in the inter-War period. However, overstretched by over-expansion of domestic consumer credit following the Wall Street Crash, they foreclosed on European loans and transformed an already serious European financial crisis into a global phenomenon. By 1933 half of all US home mortgages were in default (Hobsbawm 1994, 101). Most significantly, the Fordist dream lay in tatters (Ziebur 1990, 49): 'automobile purchasers alone owed \$1,400 million out of a total personal indebtedness of \$6,500 million in short- and medium-term loans'.

In the Fordist era the USA became the largest industrial producer in the world, while Britain's economic pre-eminence in Europe gave way to that of Germany (Hobsbawm 1987, 47, my brackets):

In the thirty years to 1913 they [German industrial exports] grew from less than half the British figure to a figure larger than the British.

However, narrower economic interests emerged in the first of several economic crises after the First World War. Protectionism consolidated further after the Wall Street Crash, destroying economic liberalism for half a century. Hobsbawm (1995d, 94) writes that:

At a time when world trade fell by 60 per cent in four years (1929-32), states found themselves building increasingly high barriers to protect their national markets and currencies against the world economic hurricanes, knowing quite well that this meant the dismantling of the world system of multilateral trade on which, they believed, world prosperity must rest.

If protectionism was one consequence of Fordism, a fixed pattern of consumption was another. In the Fordist system, need or use-value created limits to profits. Standard consumption norms slowed down productivity growth. Henry Ford did recognise the importance of stimulating consumption in the economic cycle; his standard daily pay of six dollars gave the factory worker purchasing power to eventually possess a Ford

Model T. He did not, however, grasp the limit posed by the principle of standardisation to the consumption process. Resistance by mass-labour against intensification and de-skilling of labour, and strikes for higher wages increased production costs. Thus, (Albertsen 1988 , 351) whilst

the Fordist model implied a break with the fixed consumption patterns of pre-Fordist capitalism, ... the 'limitless' drives of consumer capitalism ... also tended towards the dissolution of the fixed consumption patterns of the Fordist model itself.

Overproduction, already evident in the last quarter of the nineteenth century (Hobsbawm 1994, 36), led to a 'depression of prices, a depression of interest, and a depression of profits'. This problem was repeated, far more severely, after the Wall Street Crash.

Continuous production could only be sustained by continuous consumption based on rapid obsolescence. Stimulation of consumer desire therefore became the focus of a new industry. Advertising, supported by new mass media, directed commercial imagery and text at the urban masses.

Hobsbawm (1994, 53) writes that

[a] British newspaper [Lloyd's Weekly] reached a million-copy sale for the first time in the 1890's, a French one [Le Parisien] around 1900.

Dream images, whether embodied in entertainment spectacle or commodity design, became a vital part of the economic process. In fact, the only

improvement in economic performance during the Depression took place (102) in these new areas of the economy:

in one field—entertainment and what later came to be called 'the media'—the inter-war years saw the major breakthrough ... with the triumph of the mass radio, and the Hollywood movie industry, not to mention the modern rotogravure illustrated press ... Giant movie theatres rose like dream palaces in the grey cities of mass unemployment.

The consumption patterns of urban populations—the dreaming collectives identified by Benjamin—changed profoundly through the immersion in these new technologies of signification.

However, to satisfy such newly-stimulated consumer desires, production also had to change. The reconstruction of European and Japanese economies after the end of the Second World War gave Fordism a new lease of life, but already in the inter-war period the Fordist model was in difficulty. It was severely limited by its principles of standardised production (leading to limited consumption) and the mass-worker (leading to organised resistance by unions). These limits to productivity led to renewed economic crisis in the 1970s and to the need for new, decentralised and more flexible system of production—post-Fordism.

The post-Fordist system which characterises contemporary economic activity relied on a new economic and social structure as well as a new

ideology. Its introduction was effected by the fragmentation, depoliticisation and individualisation of production and workforce and was underpinned by new media of mass-communication. The control of the economy shifted from regulation by the state to deregulated co-ordination by multi-national consortia. Under post-Fordism monopoly capital became multi-national capital.

The majority of workers entered 'flexible employment'. Characterised by temporary, part-time contracts and sub-contracts, such workers were physically dispersed through a national and global division of labour, and de-unionised through new legislation. This made workers cheaper and more malleable. Co-ordination of production (labour) and consumption (marketing) remained the task of a select group of permanently employed managers. According to Albertsen (1983, 348), under post-Fordism:

the workforce of flexible production units tends to be polarised into a core of highly remunerated and job-secure qualified workers with polyvalent skills co-operating closely with the 'service' class employees in research and development (R+D), managerial and marketing functions, a 'semi-periphery' of semi-skilled, low-wage workers, and a periphery of casualised, part-time jobs. Job insecurity is a feature of the last two categories. The separation of labour by the various forms of sub-contracting further intensifies the fragmentation of the workforce.

This loss of labour power parallels the loss of faith in political resistance and critical cultural activity in Baudrillard's Simulation Order. Post-Fordism

fragments and differentiates Fordist universal needs, through which common cultural or political resistance could once have been orchestrated, into ephemeral and individualised consumer choices.

The invention, fragmentation and circulation of signs and consumer desires characterises the post-modern condition with which post-Fordism (Albertsen 1983, 339) has been associated:

in art and architecture the exhaustion of high modernist aesthetic progressivism results in postmodern 'condition' of 'free disposability' of aesthetic materials ... the rise of an experimenting culture industry after the youth revolt of the 1960s, the growth of the service class and the advent of 'disposability' in regard to ways and styles of living.

Driven by an expanding advertising industry marketing lifestyles and market niches, post-Fordism has found, according to Fredric Jameson (1991), a new and important area of economic growth in the colonisation of nature and the unconscious. New service economies, using existing and new mass media, have explored the mechanisms of the unconscious to produce and reproduce fragmented and depoliticised dreaming collectives of consumers.

The reliance of the image and communication economies on the reproduction and manipulation of signs has also elevated the role of cultural institutions in the economic process and has led to the expansion of education, firstly in the 1960s and again in the 1990s. Within recent British architectural education, for example, post-Fordist principles of deregulation,

choice, downsizing and increased productivity have resulted in short-term staff contracts, customisation through modularisation, rising student numbers, the transformation of the student into 'customer' and greater aesthetic choice, accompanied by falling budgets.

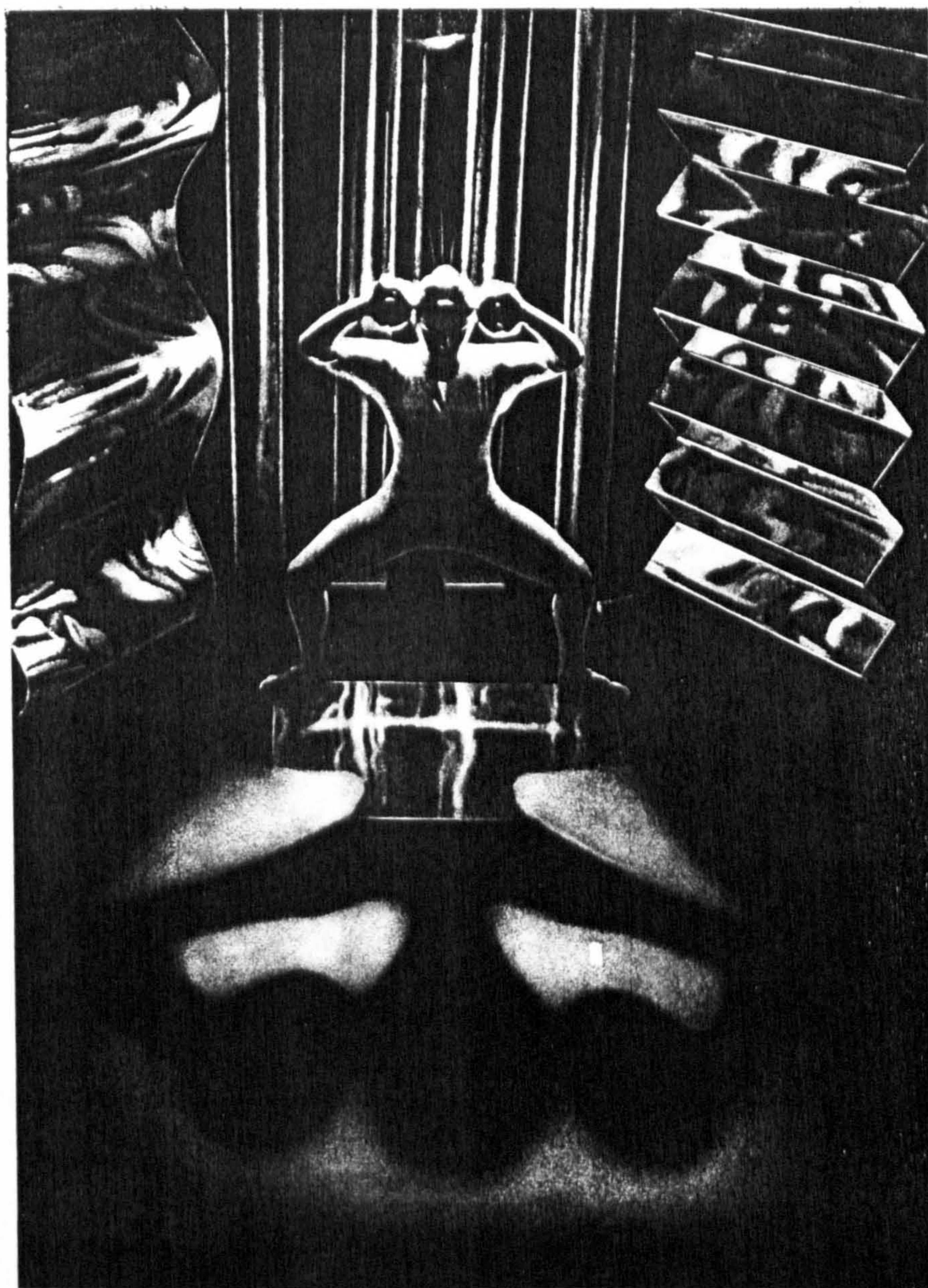
If post-Fordism has emerged in order to remove Fordist resistance to capitalist progress, Baudrillard's theories imply that sign production continues and expands the power of this process. Indeed, Baudrillard (1983, 153) suggests as much himself:

simulation (that we describe here as the operation of the code) is still and always the place of a gigantic enterprise of manipulation, of control.

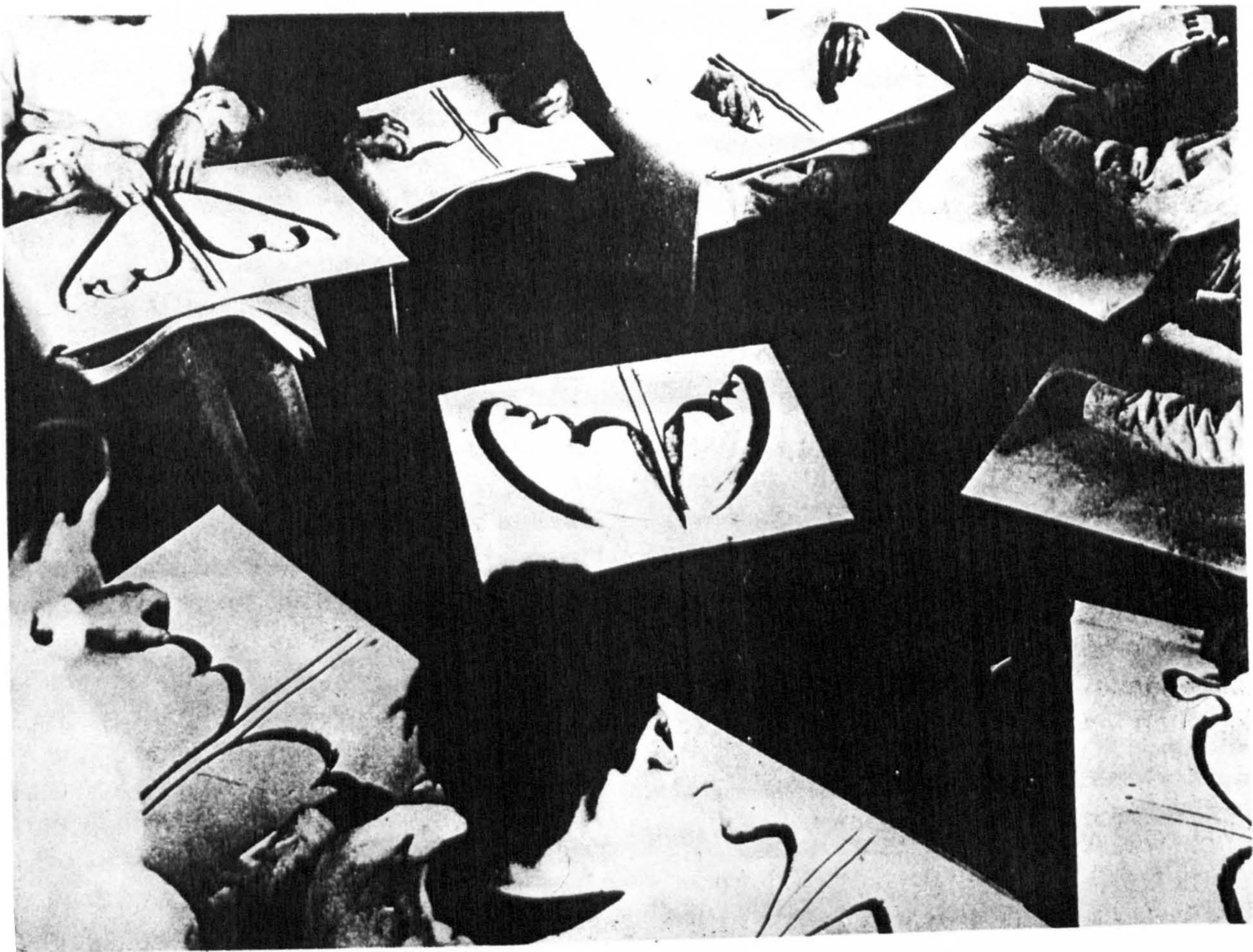
However, unlike the cultural condition of simulation, which uses the semantic confusion of cultural politics to effect semi-conscious acquiescence, the ascendancy of post-Fordist production structures has been achieved not only through the dream images of commodity culture but also through political means.

Legislation has limited unionised power and suppressed organised opposition. The global division of labour has exploited low-cost, non-unionised Third World markets, moving worker exploitation out of sight of the First World. Post-Fordism has separated workers and consumers physically, culturally and temporally, through the global division of labour, the rapid obsolescence of goods, skills and marketing and the increasingly individualised nature of consumption through television and direct mail.

Such changes have removed political resistance to Fordism whilst retaining its (still profitable) production processes. Post-Fordism's reliance on the mass-media to increase production through consumption and to compensate for political and economic inequality, suggests that the age of simulation is not simply a philosophical conundrum but an economic and political problem. In this context, the iniquities of post-Fordism form a dialectical image for the dream-imagery of simulation. Simulation becomes ideology.



5.0 Oskar Schlemmer, *Metal Dance*, danced by Karla Grosch, 1928-29



5.1 Two-handed writing, class at the Itten school, Berlin, 1930

5.1. Ideological Apparatus and the Habitus

Ideology is a 'Representation' of the Imaginary Relationship of
Individuals to their Real Conditions of Existence.

Louis Althusser Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses
(1971, 36, sic)

Post-Fordist economic theory explains how producers and consumers in the age of simulation have been depoliticised through economic and legislative instruments but not how broad social consent to such change was achieved. Baudrillard discusses the role of the Bauhaus as a pioneering institution of simulation but does not say precisely how it was able to persuade its teachers and students to put these principles into practice. Benjamin examines how architecture, commodities and images formed the dreaming collective, but not the role of institutions in this process. An ideological analysis of institutions is necessary to understand the reproduction of social values through architecture, particularly at an unconscious level.

In his *German Ideology* Marx (1927) proposed ideology as false consciousness, concealing class oppression and thus operating in the interests of the bourgeoisie. In *Capital* he emphasised material production as the source of all cultural activity by stating (1930, xiv) that

it is not the consciousness of men that determines their being but, on the contrary, their social being determines their consciousness.

Traditional Marxian critiques of ideology therefore use the 'reality' of the material base, its means of production (natural resource, labour, technology) and the relations of production (the political economy of class) to challenge the 'falsity' representations of ideology. Baudrillard denies the reality of the base in the base/superstructure model of ideology, arguing that it is untenable. In his view of the age of simulation the base is the superstructure—economic and social relations are just two of many codified and relativised sign systems.

Marx wrote on ideology during the early period of mass-production, when Fordist principles were just emerging and before the culture industry and its institutions became major economic factors. He therefore saw cultural institutions as inessential superstructures and consumption as ideological mystification. Baudrillard rightly rejects this view as inconsistent with the central role of consumption in contemporary economy but unfortunately he rejects the usefulness of ideological analysis altogether. Unlike Baudrillard, I have argued in the previous two chapters that class and economic analysis of contemporary culture continues to be useful. I also suggest that the emergence of the superstructure as a major part of the economic base in the twentieth century makes the ideological analysis of its various functions more, not less important. I suggest that if Fordism continues to exist within post-Fordism, then traditional Marxian analyses of production are still useful, but need to include other theoretical instruments explaining simulation and its unconscious reproduction of social values through sign consumption. This chapter therefore outlines Louis Althusser's theory of

ideology and ideological apparatuses, Pierre Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital and 'the habitus', Jacques Lacan's theory of ego formation, Magali Sarfatti Larson's theories of professionalism and Kaja Silverman's studies of masculinity in order to examine, in later chapters the institutional formation of the architectural social body and unconscious through imagery.

Louis Althusser develops Marxist theories of ideology to recognise the interdependence of cultural institutions, including education, and the socio-economic system of class. His theories can be used to explain the political significance and effectiveness of cultural institutions in the post-Fordist economy and provide a model that can be applied to architectural education. Althusser states that in order to survive, a society needs to reproduce not only its means of production (the base) but also its relations of production (the superstructure). He asks (1971, 22, author's italics) the crucial question '*how is the reproduction of the relations of production secured?*' and finds the answer to be the superstructure, or, more specifically, its institutions—the ideological state apparatuses. Althusser argues that the concept of the ideological state apparatus explains the dominance of cultural institutions, and in particular the school, in bourgeois culture. He sees education as the major bourgeois institution absorbing individuals into capitalist production by replicating firstly its differentiated social structures (levels of knowledge determining working and educated classes) and secondly its sign systems (the mythology of the dominant class).

For Althusser, whilst individual ideologies have their own histories, ideology itself does not. As with simulation, there seems to be no outside to

ideology, no external point from which it can be contested and changed. He proposes (35, author's italics)

that ... ideology has no history, can and must ... be related directly to Freud's proposition that *the unconscious is eternal* .

His appeal to Freud identifies the operation of ideology at the level of the unconscious.

Althusser suggests that the effectiveness of ideology is achieved through a self-confirming double mirror structure. In it individual subjects and the Subject (authority form) reflect and 'recognise' themselves. All the subjects of ideology are caught (54-5) in an internal, mutually reflective relation:

The duplicate mirror-structure of ideology ensures simultaneously:

1. the interpellation of 'individuals' as subjects;
2. their subjection to the Subject;
3. the mutual recognition of subjects and Subject, the subjects' recognition of each other, and finally the subject's recognition of himself;
4. the absolute guarantee that everything is really so, and that on condition that the subjects recognize what they are and behave accordingly, everything will be all right: Amen—'*So be it*' .

The third and fourth points in particular rely on unconscious consent to be effective. Recognition is not normally a conscious act, but an instantaneous,

obvious realisation. This allows subjects to accept their subjection freely and without question through the concept of the absolute guarantee—the most powerful and usually invisible aspect of ideology.

Like Baudrillard, Althusser believes that culture is immediately ideology. The concept of the double mirror reaffirms (49) that there is no outside to ideology. When one is in ideology, one cannot perceive it operating; when one can do so, one witnesses one's total immersion in it. The first condition is like the mythic dimension of Benjamin's dream-state; the second condition is like Baudrillard's fetishism of the code. By rejecting 'an outside', Althusser denies resistance other than through ideology. For Baudrillard, this implies the loss of critical distance, which for him makes meaningful political transformation impossible.

This, however, is not necessarily implied in Althusser's writings. He argues that ideology has a material existence. It is enacted through a particular apparatus, such as the school, and an actual practice, such as teaching or learning. He states (44) that 'there is no practice except by and in an ideology.' Apparatuses and their individual ideologies are historically and geographically specific, the result of both conscious and unconscious human agency. They are therefore changeable. Althusser's writings affirm that culture is political, and although ideology often operates unconsciously, that is precisely why its transformation into political consciousness is important.

I argue that the double mirror structure of ideology also suggests that whilst there is no outside to ideology, there may be contradictions within it which would reveal its different and unequal ideological constituencies. The double mirror is not only a concept but also a metaphor which suggests different positions (such as class, race, gender) within the space of the double mirror. Althusser partially implies this through his affirmation of class as the main differentiating social structure. I would argue that a critical ideological practice within a spatial model of the double mirror would consist of working within specifically located institutions and practices, bringing their ideological mechanisms to consciousness and exposing their role in reproducing broader ideological positions. The understanding of ideological reproduction within a specific institution could thus create alliances between other similar institutions and practices critical of such contradictions and so provide a political model for broader political change.

My interpretation of Althusser draws on Gramsci's view of education as the single most important force in counter-hegemonic struggle. Gramsci believed that (1971, 350) 'the achievement of hegemony is largely a matter of education and continued: 'Every relationship of 'hegemony' is necessarily an educational relationship.' He argued that counter-hegemonic struggle could be initiated by a cultural 'war of position' within ideological state apparatuses, during which different ideologies could confront each other and consequently could be subjected to constructive compromise. Gramsci was concerned with ensuring a structure for the Italian communist party which would allow for change from below and so prevent the hegemonic ossification of its ideology.

Gramsci proposed (1971, 188-9):

a 'centralism' in movement, so to speak, a continuous adaptation of the organisation to the true movement, a blending of pressures from below with leadership from above, a continual insertion of elements which emerge from the depths of the masses into the solid framework of the directing apparatus which will ensure continuity and regular accumulation of experience.

Like Althusser and Gramsci, Pierre Bourdieu identifies cultural practice in general and education in particular as a practice of power. Education is, for him, constantly fought over by competing groups, each struggling to possess, retain and increase their power through the possession of symbolic capital. The concept of symbolic capital, combining economic and signifying terms, resembles the commodity sign, but with a difference. Symbolic capital, unlike the commodity sign, is not a semiological but a sociological term, rooted in social relations, and therefore has a specific political function. It is not freely available or reproducible but is restricted by the boundaries inherent in relations of class, race, gender and so on. For Bourdieu, symbolic capital is primarily used to accumulate social privilege. It is a system of symbolic social relations between signs.

Bourdieu introduces and develops the concept of symbolic capital in his *Outline of A Theory of Practice* (1977) and *Distinction* (1986). Garry Stevens, in his article 'Struggle in the Studio: A Bourdivin Look at

Architectural Pedagogy' (Stevens 1995, 106), writes that Bourdieu's concept of symbolic capital 'involves the wielding of symbols and concepts, ideas and beliefs, to achieve ends'. He discusses Bourdieu's writings on cultural capital within architectural education and clarifies some of Bourdieu's dense language and argument. I have therefore used his interpretation to supplement my own readings of Bourdieu's texts.

Stevens lists Bourdieu's characterisation of the three main properties of symbolic capital as (108) 'naturalness, misrecognition and arbitrariness'. These seem remarkably close to Althusser's description of ideology. Naturalness resembles Althusser's 'everything is really so'; misrecognition parallels the illusory nature of Althusser's 'mutual recognition'; arbitrariness relates to the lack of an 'outside' referent through which ideology could become truth. I focus on Bourdieu's concept of embodied cultural capital, a further sub-class of symbolic capital. I specifically look at embodied cultural capital because it operates at an unconscious level, linking to Benjamin's distracted dream-consciousness and Althusser's ideological reproduction.

For Bourdieu, cultural capital is inseparable from an individual or a group and consists of four major types: institutionalised, objectified, social and embodied. Stevens (107, author's italics) writes:

Three are quite straightforward. Institutionalised cultural capital consists of academic qualifications and educational attainments, knowing things, and being certified *as* knowing them. Objectified capital is cultural objects or goods, such as artworks or any of the many symbolic objects

produced in society. Social capital consists of durable networks of people on whom one can rely for support and help in life. (Stevens' italics)

The fourth type of cultural capital is embodied capital. It is cultural value represented by the physical attributes and behaviour of the person who possesses it (108, author's italics) 'by simply *being* cultured.' Embodied cultural capital can be produced and reproduced by architectural dream-images. It a class of signs acquired unconsciously by architects and confers traits signifying the symbolic value of their 'owners'.

Bourdieu argues that education is a key site within which embodied cultural capital attaches to the body. In *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1971, 72-95) Bourdieu introduces the concept of the 'habitus' as a mechanism for the production and reproduction of embodied cultural capital, which, as a principle of 'generation and structuring of practices and representations', also resembles Althusser's definition of ideology. Stevens (1995, 111) calls the habitus

a construct that is both psychological (because it is in people's heads) and social (because we can refer to a group or class having a habitus).

For Bourdieu (1971, 72), the habitus regulates the production of practices and the reproduction of cultural capital 'without in any way being the product of obedience to rules' and 'without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor'.

The habitus is (85):

the product of the work of inculcation and appropriation necessary in order for those products of collective history, the objective structures (e.g. of language, economy, etc.,) to succeed in reproducing themselves more or less completely, in the form of durable dispositions, in the organisms (which one can, if one wishes, call individuals) lastingly subjected to the same conditionings, and hence placed in the same material conditions of existence.

It is (78) 'history turned into nature' and so resembles Benjamin's dream-state and Althusser's ideology. However, the habitus is more specific than ideology because it is represented in individual bodies. Bourdieu (87, author's italics) describes how the tasks of the habitus include the classification of the body:

In a class society, all the products of a given agent, by an essential *overdetermination*, speak inseparably and simultaneously of his class—or, more precisely, his position in the social structure and his rising or falling trajectory—and of his (or her) body—or, more precisely, all the properties, always socially qualified, of which he or she is the bearer—sexual properties of course, but also physical properties, praised, like strength or beauty, or stigmatised.

The habitus reproduces embodied cultural capital to form a corporate identity for a specific social group. It gives collective symbolic value to body language, skin colour, gender, clothing, manner of speech, accent and other factors that constitute (94) a shared identity:

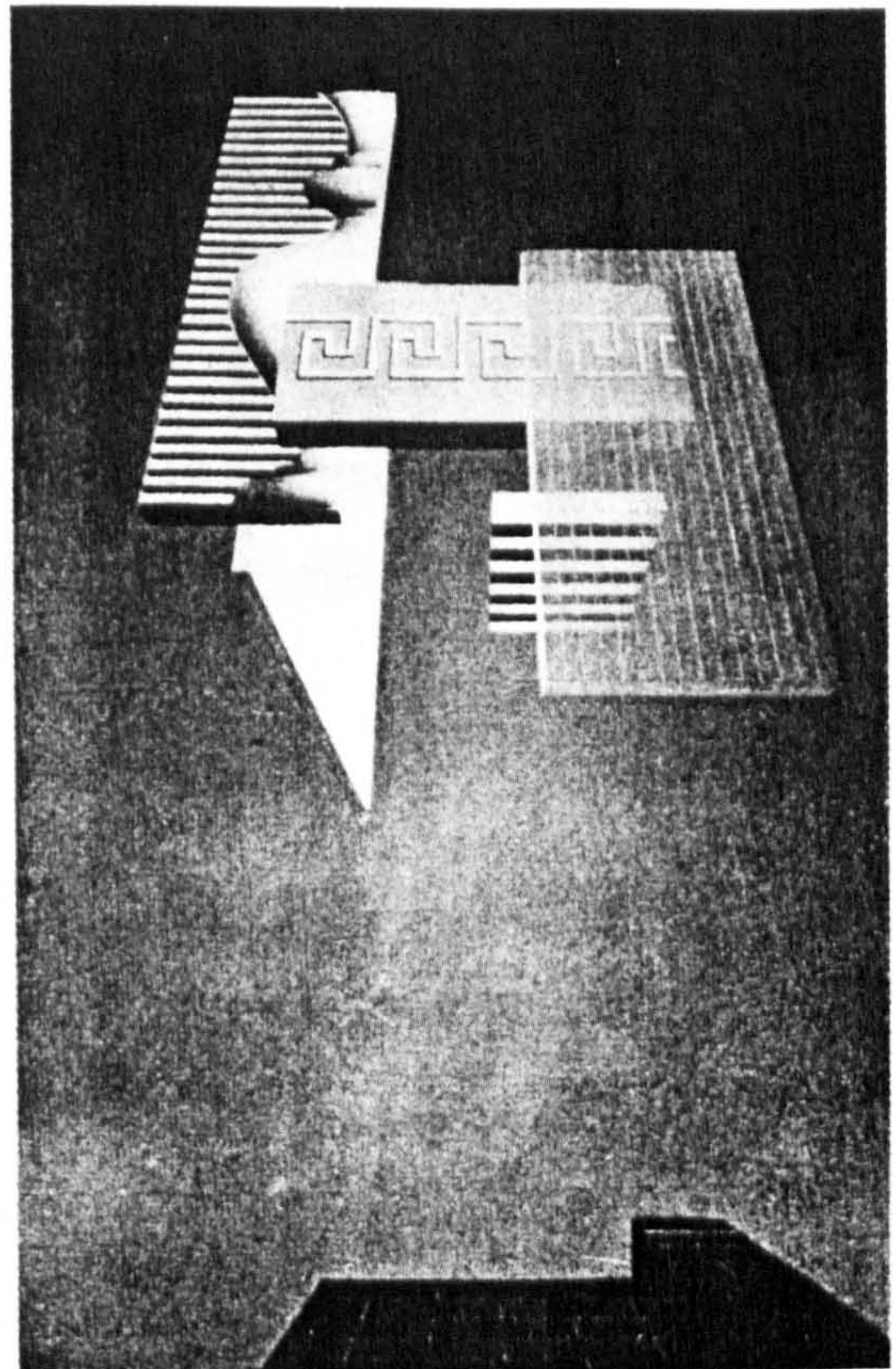
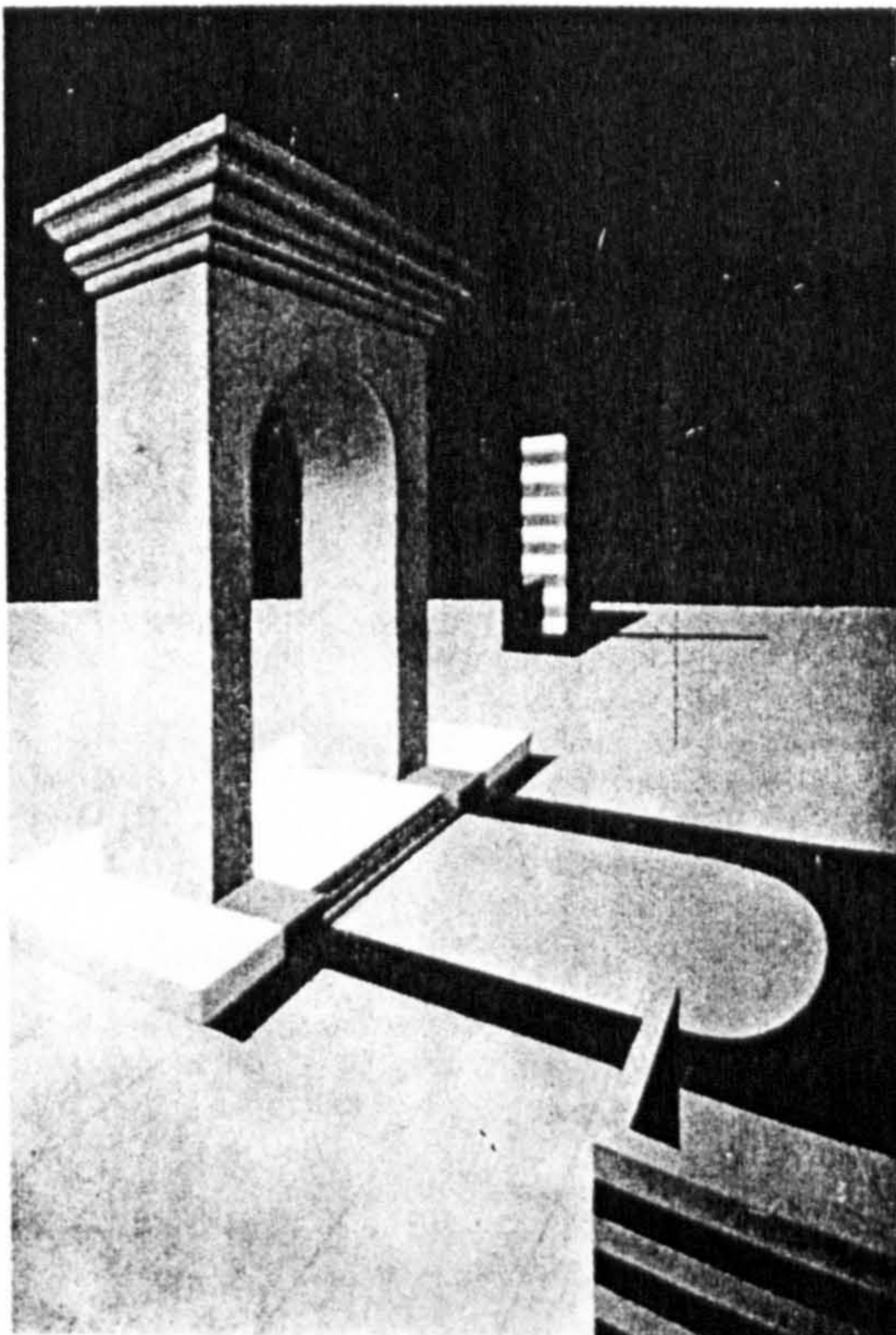
If all societies and, significantly, all the 'totalitarian' institutions' ... that seek to produce a new man through a process of 'deculturation' and 'reculturation' set such store on the seeming most insignificant details of *dress, bearing*, physical or verbal *manners*, the reason is that, treating the body as memory, they entrust to it in abbreviated and practical, i.e. mnemonic, form the fundamental principles of the arbitrary content of culture. The principles embodied [sic] in this way are placed beyond the grasp of consciousness, and hence cannot be touched by voluntary, deliberate transformation, cannot even be made explicit; nothing seems more ineffable, more incommunicable, more inimitable, and, therefore, more precious, than the values given body, *made* body by the transubstantiation achieved by the hidden persuasion of an implicit pedagogy, capable of instilling a whole cosmology, an ethic, a metaphysic, a political philosophy, through injunctions as insignificant as 'stand up straight' or 'don't hold your knife in your left hand'.

The social sphere of education, preceded only by that of the family, reproduces the habitus through its selection, stratification and affirmation of cultural traits which consist of consciously acquired knowledge (domestic or academic) but also include unconsciously valued physical and behavioural traits. The role of the latter in educational success is normally

denied by both educators and students. This denial is possible because the habitus (Stevens 1995, 112) is seldom consciously experienced:

It is an active, unconscious set of unformulated dispositions to act and to perceive, and much of its power to structure our lives without our realising it derives from the thoughtlessness of habit and habituation that the habitus produces ... it is the product of a personal history. Because its enculturation starts from birth, it is a product of the material and symbolic conditions of existence of our family, conditions shaped by our class and therefore by the large scale structures of society.

The habitus is ideology at its most personal and effective, reproducing unconscious behaviour through mimicry similar to the mutual reflection in Althusser's double mirror. The habitus can be said to reproduce (Althusser 1971, 55) a 'recognition of subjects and Subject, the subjects' recognition of each other, ... the subject's recognition of himself' and finally 'the absolute guarantee that everything is really so'. The acquisition of signs of embodied cultural capital through the habitus remains outside consciousness because its purpose is not to produce the dominant culture but, rather, to unconsciously reproduce it, through the differentiated encoding of social and cultural class. The acquisition takes time and effort, which only the leisure class can have and afford. Embodied cultural capital is therefore the most difficult type of symbolic capital to acquire by those who do not occupy the same privileged position within the space of the double mirror.



xanti schawinsky:
suspended architecture.
tempera. 1927

xanti schawinsky:
tempera. 1926

5.2. Professions and Education

professionalisation is thus an attempt to translate one order of scarce resources—special knowledge and skills—into another—social and economic rewards. To maintain scarcity implies a tendency to monopoly: monopoly of expertise in the market, monopoly of status in a system of stratification.

Magali Sarfatti Larson The Rise of Professionalism (1977, xvii)

Bourdieu argues that both unconscious reproduction of physical and mental traits and conscious acquisition of knowledge reproduce cultural capital. He implies that ideological apparatuses (such as education), apart from inculcating knowledge, generate a corporate body-image to sustain their social status and economic value. I present theories by a number of sociologists of professionalism which examine the economic and social function of knowledge and suggest that the ideological apparatus of the professions also reproduces embodied cultural capital.

The modern professions—engineering, architecture and accountancy amongst them—emerged in the nineteenth century as an attempt by already privileged occupational groups to uphold and increase their social and economic status. New occupations generated by the industrial division of labour also tried to professionalise their work. Until then, only four professions had existed: the ministry, law, medicine and the army. Established and new professions struggled for supremacy, which for them

was embodied in the monopoly of work practices. Michael Burrage (1990, 25) affirms this aspect of professional formations:

occupations attempt to control market conditions through market closure
... Those which are especially successful are the ones which we have
come to call 'the professions'.

Monopoly relies on scarcity which in turn raises the market value of the occupation. However, the maintenance of monopoly depends on the support of more powerful social groups. Donald Scott argues that in giving or withdrawing legitimacy for professional work, society, through the specific political instrument of the state, has therefore supplied the values (Geison 1983, 14) which the professions must reproduce:

an activity, body of knowledge, or occupation can be seen as becoming a profession not only when it assumes a discernible institutional shape but also when it is granted public recognition and acceptance as a profession.

Professions do not therefore have the autonomy they claim over either their knowledge or over its position within the social order.

During the era of state power, many professions in Britain and in Europe have therefore sought state legitimation. The state has enacted legislation defining and protecting the professional's title and in many cases safeguarded major areas of work. In Britain the welfare state has sustained

the legal profession and stimulated the expansion of the profession of medicine, architecture and engineering. It has also funded and validated much of professional education. Within education, the profession/state alliance has led to mutual compromises as professions tried to limit entry by social classes newly-enfranchised by state expansion of education. Consequently, in contrast to non-professional education, standards of admission and certification in professional education have generally been higher, attrition rates greater and the education process longer.

To be granted the social right to restrictive practices, the professional has therefore had to fulfil an unspoken social contract. The state confers cultural capital on professionals to seal a state/profession alliance because (Dingwall, Lewis 1983, 5) professional knowledge, by lying close to potential sources of social conflict, both represents and threatens state interests:

The professions are licensed to carry out some of the most dangerous tasks of our society—to intervene in our bodies, to intercede for our prospects of future salvation, to regulate the conflict of rights and obligations between social interests. Yet in order to do this, they must acquire guilty knowledge—the priest is an expert on sin, the doctor on disease, the lawyer on crime—and the ability to look at these matters in comparative and, hence, relative terms. This is the mystery of the professions. Their privileged status is an inducement to maintain their loyalty in concealing the darker sides of their society and in refraining from exploiting their knowledge for evil purposes.

Dingwall and Lewis believe that this function—the professions' resolution of potential social conflict—explains their close historical proximity to the agents of political power.

I suggest that architecture is no exception. Architecture symbolically represents the laws of property on which economic and social order rests. Taking Benjamin's theories of the dreaming collective, it also acts as one of the most public and invisible means of displacing social conflict through symbolic representation and the ordering of spatial patterns of behaviour. Just as doctors or lawyers have not willingly produced the sick individual or the guilty convict, architects have not, at least consciously, built symbolic and spatial nightmares. Architectural dream-images have acted as guardians of sleep. In contrast, occupations such as art or film, not part of the traditional professions, have legitimately used the phenomenon of 'shock' to increase their commodity value. Architecture comparable to Dadaism, Situationism, agit-prop, gothic horror and dystopian science fiction is rare because this would expose the dangerous knowledge on which professionalism rests.

If the authority of the professions depends on ensuring scarcity through monopoly, and if the state and the public need the guarantee that professionals will not abuse their knowledge, the production process of the professional has to ensure that both criteria are satisfied. Most professionals do not sell tangible goods but sell their knowledge. This turns their knowledge into a commodity. However, in order to maintain scarcity, that

knowledge cannot be of a type that is freely reproducible, for example through text. Instead, Larson argues that it must become (Haskell 1984, 34, my brackets) 'inseparable from the person of the expert ... [and] thus be gradually constructed into a special kind of property'. Professional knowledge has to become embodied cultural capital. She explains (14, Larson's italics) how this takes place:

professional work, like any other form of labour, is only a *fictitious* commodity; it cannot be detached from the rest of life, be stored or mobilised ... it follows therefore that the *producers themselves have to be produced* if their products or commodities are to be given a distinctive form.

The profession, and especially its education process, becomes the habitus through which embodied cultural capital is produced and reproduced.

The embodied cultural capital of the professions serves the interests of both the state and business. Geison (Geison 1983, 4, my summary) sees the characteristic features of a profession as:

- 1) formal technical training
- 2) intellectual skills
- 3) an institutionalised setting that certifies quality and competence
- 4) demonstrable skills in the pragmatic application of this formal training
- 5) institutional mechanisms ensuring that knowledge will be used in a socially responsible role.

The categories of formal technical training, demonstrable pragmatic skills, intellectual ability and social responsibility fulfil the social contract that professional knowledge be both useful and impartial. It thus ceases to be dangerous knowledge. Standardised examinations and certification maintain its homogeneity and scarcity. Together they provide a minimum standard by which the newly-qualified professional gains the state protection (of title) necessary to secure monopolistic practices.

The architectural profession in Britain has effected these features, with greater or lesser degrees of success, by incorporating them into the education and certification processes. The first four desired characteristics of the professional define major areas of the architectural curriculum such as constructional knowledge, history and theory of architecture, professional studies and practical experience. They form the main part of the architect's cultural capital. However, because their knowledge is reproducible, these features do not constitute embodied cultural capital. Reproducibility through the education process and thence text makes these professional attributes available to competing occupational groups, who have, of course, made use of them. If these were the only types of professional architectural knowledge, the monopoly of the architect could not be maintained.

However, the value of the professions also rests on the elevation of certain traits to a 'natural' status beyond conscious learning. This has transformed cultural capital into its embodied form and has, until recently, raised the exchange value of professionals above that of their competitors. Larson

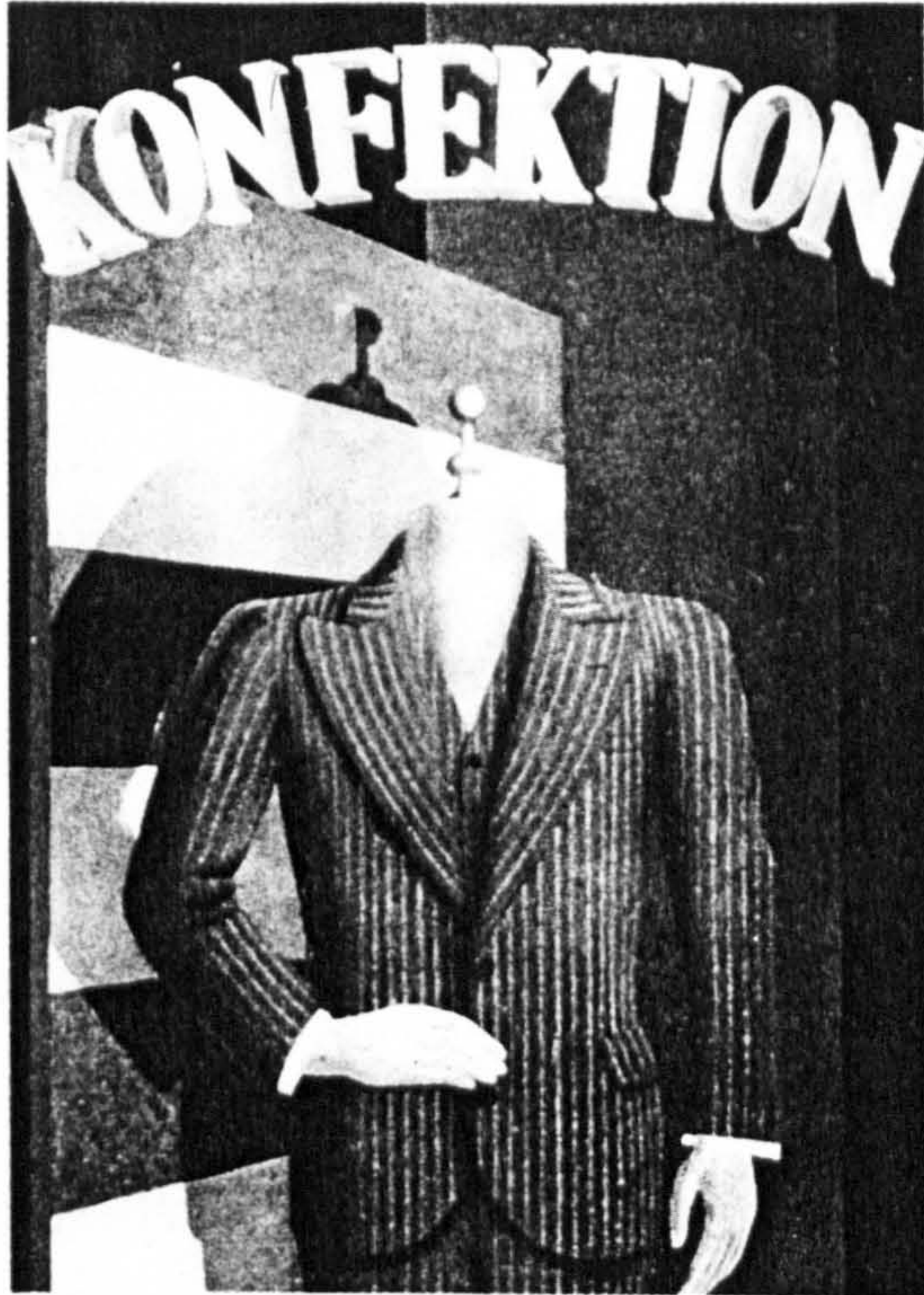
affirms (Haskell 1984, 35—36) that professional competence is indeed attained unconsciously and consciously:

effects [of professional education] are measured in the non-physical constraint of accepted definitions, or internalised moral and epistemological norms. It is in one sense impersonal, for it makes the most general knowledge claims; yet it is also deeply personal, in that the individual who internalises the general and special discourses of his or her own culture experiences them as natural expressions or extensions of his or her own will and reason.

The terms 'natural' and 'will' are important because they place areas of professional expertise beyond conscious cultural influence. This resembles Bourdieu's concept of embodied cultural capital, where culturally produced collective traits are incorporated into individual behaviour and appearance. The illusion of individual and professional autonomy comes from the 'naturalisation' of such socially determined professional knowledge into personal will.

Impartiality and social responsibility, as qualities of behaviour rather than types of knowledge, form the first two features of the architect's embodied cultural capital. Termed ethics, they are acquired through exposure to respected forms of behaviour in both education and practice, and are symbolised in the professional Code of Conduct. The most important feature of embodied cultural capital, however, is the possession of design talent. Design has, since the foundation of the architectural profession,

distinguished the architect from other members of the construction industry and formed the symbolic tool for the quasi-mysterious integration of technical, intellectual, practical and social knowledge. The acquisition of design talent today continues to operate largely beyond consciousness. Most architects regard design talent as natural (you either have it or you don't) and therefore as a quality that cannot be taught. It thus escapes examination as embodied cultural capital—a cultural construct (with a socio-economic lineage) and a commodity (with a market value), produced and reproduced unconsciously. In its transmission of the embodied cultural capital of design talent and responsible social traits, architectural education relies on the mechanisms that produce and reproduce the profession as a dreaming collective.



150

xanti schawinsky:
poster advertising men's
clothing. 1928

xanti schawinsky:
poster advertising hats.
1928. executed in italy.
1935



5.3. Theories of the Unconscious

In acceding to language, the subject forfeits all existential reality, and foregoes any future possibility of 'wholeness'.

Kaja Silverman Male Subjectivity at the Margins (1992, 4)

Benjamin's concept of the dreaming collective glosses over its relationship to individual ego-formation. This gap precludes more detailed theorisation of three-dimensional form, language and images in the production of a collective unconscious. Benjamin's texts side-step influences other than class which affect the formation of identity. His collective psychoanalysis avoids the early stages of ego formation and therefore ignores the role of socialisation through the sexual and gender stereotypes of the family that precede as well as accompany class formation. In this section I therefore focus on the role of Oedipal Order in the construction of institutional identities. I link Freudian and Lacanian psychoanalytic theory of the family to theories of ideological formation through institutions.

Benjamin's theories of the dreaming collective were influenced by the Surrealist popularisation of Freud and, to a lesser extent, Jung (with whose optimistic and universal conclusions about the collective unconscious Benjamin disagreed). Jung, unlike Freud, believed in a collective unconscious characterised by universal, trans-generational archetypes. The Freudian unconscious, in contrast, was a repository of historically specific individual lived experience. It was also a container of unfulfilled desires and

aggressions that were prevented from entry to consciousness through repression, which ensured individual social conformity.

The main mechanisms of Freudian dreamwork were condensation, displacement and representation (translation from thought to imagery). All these processes, in acting as civilising forces, involved some degree of repression and disavowal. Freud therefore viewed the unconscious as a product of trauma and censorship; this lay much closer to Benjamin's view of history as tale of catastrophe. Dreams that emerged from the unconscious were (Freud 1953a, 160) distorted fulfilments of repressed wishes because such wishes were too threatening to be represented directly, without revision. Yet the Freudian unconscious allowed for a 'return of the repressed', which Benjamin welcomed (Buck-Morss 1983, 222):

Where Jung would see, for example, the recurrence of a utopian image as 'successful return' of unconscious contents, Benjamin, far closer to Freud, cited Bloch, that its repetition was the sign of that continued social repression which prevented the realization of utopian desires.

The entry of repressed, distorted desire into consciousness made it available for analysis, which could release it from the original trauma and allow it to transform future lived experience.

Benjamin combined the Jungian concept of the collective unconscious with the individual one of Freud. Freud supplied Benjamin with techniques of verbal analysis (interpretation of a stream of consciousness). The Surrealists

provided methods of visual representation that paralleled the processes of Freudian condensation (collage) and the Dadaists the techniques of analytical representation (montage). Benjamin substituted Marxian politics as analysis of collective class oppression for Freudian analysis of individual sexual repression. Benjaminian collective psychoanalysis could therefore reveal the trauma of class exploitation and desire for social utopia through visual form. The combination of image and text in the juxtaposition of past and present in the *Arcades Project* was to act as a practical demonstration of this method, applied to recent history.

However, Benjamin recognised that psychoanalytic techniques were also used to stimulate the consumption process and thus had a privileged and complicit relationship with commodity fetishism. He was aware that dream-images in films, advertising and architecture took collective desire for political action and, transforming it into imagery, displaced it to perpetuate a passive consumption of commodities.

Commodity fetishism maintained (Buck-Morss 1983, 216) the 'dreaming collective' in 'ever deeper sleep'. Architecture, the prototype of distracted experience, joined other cultural forms as a 'guardian of sleep'. This term, coined by Freud to describe the function of the dream is explained by Richard Wollheim (Wollheim 1973, 74):

If the wish did not express itself in the disguise of the dream, it would disturb sleep. And so we come to the overall function of dreams: they are 'the guardians of sleep'.

Whilst the collective remained in dream-sleep, the individual bourgeois consciousness maintained itself (Buck-Morss 1983, 216) 'ever more reflectively'. Bourgeois wakefulness was necessary for the adoption and expansion of psychoanalytic mechanisms within the culture industry. Benjamin cited film in *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* and Surrealism within high art as examples of this process. The art gallery, the cinema and the analyst's couch served a similar purpose; they became research sites for the commodity sign. The first problem of traditional psychoanalysis was therefore that it was complicit with the mechanisms of consumer capitalism and charismatic politics.

The second problem of traditional psychoanalysis was that it claimed to be objective and neutral. Freud's assertion of the eternal nature of the unconscious and the scientific and objective process of analysis itself also made psychoanalysis appear to be independent of class interest. He understood psychoanalysis through an 'economic' model (Laplanche and Pontalis 1973); it was an economy intended to analyse and quantify finite libidinal energy and apportion it to different impulses. Benjamin's hopes for a 'collective psychoanalysis' were thus limited by its role as a normative code (the individual's return to universal conventions following successful analysis) and a politico-economic mechanism (the origin of the culture industry and commodity fetishism). As a critical and subversive technique it was fraught with difficulty.

The critical use of repressed imagery in Benjamin's collage/montage model has similar problems. The appropriation of conscious and unconscious forms of desire, of a subversive 'other', the removal of their political and cultural significance and their transformation into commodified signs is a powerful means of symbolic control practised by the culture industry. Fredric Jameson (1991) has identified the colonisation of the unconscious as a key feature of contemporary capitalism, where images of the 'other' simply reaffirm and so uphold the logic of the dominant element of the binary pair to which they have been assigned as a minor partner. Unless they are firmly attached to irreproducible social practices, they can immediately be reappropriated as mere signs of opposition rather than as stimuli to social enactment. Baudrillard (1983, 36) is aware of this point when he dismisses critical activity as

- proving theatre by anti-theatre
- proving art by anti-art
- proving pedagogy by anti-pedagogy
- proving psychiatry by anti-psychiatry, etc., etc.

The Freudian model's reliance on economy, universality, 'eternity' and the binary oppositions of the conscious/unconscious, desire/repression, dream/analysis is problematic. Its economic structure feeds the commodity sign. Its universality conceals the specific historical and political interests of its theorists and practitioners and implies that there is no outside to the unconscious. Its binarism limits its usefulness to those instances where the

denial of a dialectic (and not its affirmation) maintains the collective dream-state and where binary power relations therefore need to be asserted.

Jacques Lacan, in a number of his texts including *Four Fundamental Principles of Psychoanalysis* (Lacan 1977a), proposes a model for the unconscious that suggests an outside to the Freudian unconscious. Lacan states that the psychological formation of the individual takes place in three phases—the 'Real', the 'Imaginary' and the 'Symbolic'. Lacan's Symbolic phase constitutes the main part of ego formation and encompasses the greatest part of subsequent cultural activity.

The Real, in contrast, is everything that lies outside the Symbolic. For Lacan (Lacan 1975, 80) 'the Real, or what is perceived as such is what resists symbolisation absolutely.' It is not the unconscious (and its repressed experience) which is produced and structured by the social laws of the Symbolic phase. The Real is pre-linguistic experience that cannot enter the Symbolic without distortion. Laplanche and Pontalis suggest (1973, 166) that such pre-linguistic experience 're-emerge[s], rather in 'the Real', particularly through the phenomenon of hallucination.' The Real lies outside recorded history and codified experience, outside Baudrillard's universe of simulacra and outside communicability.

The emergence from the Real into the Imaginary involves (Lacan 1977, 2-7) a moment of recognition resembling Althusser's mirror concept of ideology.

Anika Lemaire (1977, 56) describes this moment of recognition:

The infant child stands in front of a mirror and recognises his own image. He has no word for it and the recognition has an instantaneous aspect.

The Imaginary is a transitional phase. It exists prior to and alongside the Symbolic, which is synonymous with the Oedipus, its patriarchal system of kinship, exchange and language embodied in the Name-of-the-Father and represents the full cultural incorporation of the individual. Entry into the Symbolic brings accession to communication but is also predicated on a loss of wholeness (Lemaire 1977, 87):

The insertion of the Subject into the Symbolic Order underlying the social organisation of the Oedipus is simultaneous with a division between the I of existence and the I of meaning.

The individual separates into a 'je', which for Lacan is the desiring subject, remaining beyond the reach of language in the Imaginary and a 'moi', which is (Silverman 1992, 3)

the psychic 'precipitate' of external images, ranging from the subject's mirror image and the parental imagoes to the whole plethora of textually based representations which each of us imbibes daily.

The 'moi' exists in the Symbolic and is structured linguistically. The split of the individual at the point of entry into the Oedipal Symbolic Order therefore parallels the split of the sign when it enters the system of sign exchange—the social structure through which the meaning and value of both signs and beings is formed. In the split the individual loses its pre-conscious wholeness and enters a binary structure of desire-for/lack-of-being and the conscious/unconscious. The unconscious, for Lacan, is only produced through entry to language of the Oedipus and its divisive and repressive condition. It therefore has a binary relationship to consciousness and is structured like the sign.

The unconscious is founded on 'lack' or the loss of wholeness, which has to be covered over immediately with an illusion of unity. The Oedipal order offers such symbolic unity through the masculine role model of the phallus, which symbolises the sexual and cultural authority of the male. The male denies his origin in lack (sexual and cultural castration) by creating an opposing symbolic lack in the feminine role model. Images of a coherent masculinity defer and displace the shared lack of both genders onto the fluidity and symbolic castration of the female, who thus becomes the 'other' to the male and a 'minor' in the Symbolic order. She also embodies, because only she is permitted to do so, the desire for the shared (and lost) pre-symbolic being. However, this is (Lacan 1968, 211) ultimately 'a desire for nothing', because in the pre-symbolic phase, the individual has no conceivable identity. This makes the female both an object of desire and a symbolic threat to the male.

Lacan's link of the formation of the individual to broader cultural forces such as language and kinship structures suggests that the Imaginary and the Symbolic, as well as the Real, are the result of historically contingent experience. Lacan himself developed his theories in the inter-war and post-war period, in a period when the human subject was literally and metaphorically disintegrating, whether through genocide or war. Laura Mulvey (1988, 28) recognises this again within the contemporary condition, when she states:

Desire is founded on loss and is consequently the source of signification. It seems apt as a mythology for a period in which deep-rooted belief in the inevitability of social and economic progress begins to waver and, at the same time, bourgeois ideology, with its dependence on credibility and seriousness of the signified gives way to an explosion of representation—images as proliferation of style.

Mulvey's comments suggest that Lacan's linguistically determined concept of lack may have grown out of the rise of signification and simulacra. Lacan's emphasis on loss of unity thus perhaps mirrors Baudrillard's loss of 'the real', because both authors wrote in response to the same cultural condition. The theorisation of lack as the central condition of human existence also reverberates with Benjamin's observation of the disintegration of meaning inherent in the commodification of culture and the tale of history as catastrophe. The Benjaminian/Lacanian/Baudrillardian subject can be therefore be said to be a product of the twentieth century in western Europe.

Lacanian theory also suggests that the Imaginary phase, as the recurring threshold and point of awareness between the Real and the Symbolic, may be a crucial point of resistance to the naturalism and ahistoricism of ideological and psychoanalytic processes. The Imaginary is important because it introduces a third term into the pair pre-conscious/conscious. Unlike the Symbolic, experience in the Imaginary is still loose and unsystematic but is capable of communication. Lacan (Lemaire 1977, 61) writes that 'the Imaginary is everything in the human mind and its reflexive life which is in a state of flux before fixation is effected by the symbol' of verbal language and binary relationships. The Imaginary is a period of visual understanding.

It is also a period of spatial understanding. In the Imaginary the individual recognises distance between itself and its representation for the first time and so momentarily experiences alienation, before it is covered over again (in the masculine model) in the Symbolic. The self becomes a mirrored Imaginary construct (Lacan 1968, 11) which

disappoints all (the subject's) certitudes. For in the labour which he undertakes to reconstruct this construct 'for another', he finds again the fundamental alienation which has made him construct it like 'another one', and which has always destined it to be stripped from him by another.

I argue that this spatially derived sense of alienation makes the 'Imaginary' a powerful period of dissent and that its visual and spatial experiences allow alienation to be represented non-verbally. I also argue that contrary to Baudrillard's view, the alienation of the Imaginary can point to an 'outside' (the Real), which is anterior to the codified simulacra of the Symbolic Order. The Imaginary can therefore hold, for a time, a subversive power in relation to the Oedipal and capitalist social orders which encode language as a tool of patriarchy and commodification.

However, dissent need not spring only from alienation. I also suggest that the Imaginary is a source of desire that is not entirely contained within the binary structures of signification, and gender and class relations. It is a pre-linguistic but not a pre-conscious phase of flux, when desire is not entirely beyond the reach of consciousness nor yet entirely caught within Symbolic binarisms. It is not yet entirely 'lack' though it is no longer 'wholeness'. Nor is the Imaginary a pre-cultural condition that could be seen as essentialist and therefore anti-historical and anti-spatial. It is a cultural, spatial and temporal threshold, experienced spatially and visually, without structured or verbal language. Only later (Gallop 1985, 74-92) can the Imaginary be rationalised through language.

In the Imaginary, desire is not only a binary pair of pleasure and alienation but also, more importantly (Lacan 1977, 61), one point in an 'incessant sliding of being and desire'.

This last term resembles the kind of desire that Elizabeth Grosz argues for in *Volatile Bodies: Towards a Corporeal Feminism* (1994, 165):

Instead of aligning desire with fantasy and opposing it to the real, instead of seeing it as a yearning, desire is an actualisation, a series of practices, bringing things together or separating them, making machines, making reality. Desire does not take for itself a particular object whose attainment it requires; rather, it aims at nothing above its own proliferation or self-expansion. It assembles things out of singularities and breaks things, assemblages, down into their singularities. It moves; it does.

Elizabeth Grosz forms part of a growing body of feminist cultural theorists who see the Lacanian model as an opportunity rather than as a sorrow and so embrace a concept of desire that rejects binarism. This suggests that the Imaginary can be a powerful and positive source of disruption to the seamless masculinity of the Symbolic Order.



5.4 Walter Hege, photos of students in the weaving workshop:
Gertrud Arndt, Marianne Gugg, 1925

5.4. The Masculine Fiction

We should accustom ourselves to the idea that the meanings implicit in the lightest parental gesture bear the parents' fantasies; for ... the parents themselves had their own parents: they have their 'complexes', wishes marked by historicity ... In the final analysis the complete Oedipal structure is *present from the beginning*, both 'in itself' (in the objectivity of the familial configuration) but above all 'in the other', outside the child.

Jean Laplanche Life and Death in Psychoanalysis (1976, 45)

Freud and Lacan's theorisations of the psychological formation of the self refer to individual experience of the Oedipal structure through the first ideological institution and individual encounters—the family. Together with Althusser's theory of ideology which it resembles, the Lacanian model provides a link between the influence of the family and that of larger social structures, and so suggests a gendered theory of the collective formation of the unconscious.

Kaja Silverman's *Male Subjectivity at the Margins* (Silverman 1992) links Althusser and Lacan's work in this area. Silverman presents a theory of the psychological formation of masculinity and emphasises patriarchy as the key system regulating cultural reproduction, not simply within the family but within subsequent institutions as well. She suggests that the

effectiveness of all social stratification relies on the stability of masculinity as the dominant social model.

For Althusser, conscious belief relies on reasoned argument and the existence of evidence, leading to (voluntary or forced) consensus based on concepts of truth. Unconscious belief (including that of ideology) relies on faith. For Lacan, faith is necessary to sustain the model of wholeness embodied in Oedipal masculinity and to conceal and compensate for the lack at the heart of being. The triumph of faith over lack is ensured, in Silverman's view (1992, 20), through fantasy:

fantasy might thus be said to confer psychical reality upon the objects which stand in metaphorically for what is sacrificed to meaning—the subject's very life.

Silverman implies that ideology is produced through types of fantasy. She introduces the concepts of the 'fantasmatic' and the 'moi' to explain how this takes place. The 'fantasmatic' and the 'moi' mutually define and determine one another within the processes of fantasy. She takes the concept of the 'moi' from Lacan (1977, 1-7) and 'the fantasmatic' from Laplanche and Pontalis (1973, 317). The 'moi' is the self of the Symbolic, constructed through language. The fantasmatic is the system that (Silverman 1992, 3) 'organises and regulates unconscious desire'. The fantasmatic, for her, structures fantasy in the Imaginary and the Symbolic in two simultaneous but non-identical ways. She describes (7, author's italics)

fantasy as a process of incorporation—the mutual constitution of the structure of the fantasmatic and the image of the 'moi':

We are clearly dealing here with two different forms of 'incorporation' from outside, one of a specular variety, and the other of [sic] which is more properly characterised as 'structural'—that incorporation through which the *moi* is formed, and upon which the fantasmatic draws for its images of 'self' and other, and that through which the subject assumes a position within the *mise-en-scène* of desire. The first is perhaps best understood as 'imaginary' identification, and the second as 'symbolic' identification. Whereas the mirror stage represents the model for the former, the Oedipus complex provides the founding instance of the latter.

She implies (5) that fantasy in the Imaginary is not yet subject to the same strict control as in the Symbolic:

At its deepest level—i.e. at the point at which it falls most fully under the influence of the primary process—the fantasmatic is 'characterised by the absence of subjectivisation', and 'all distinction between subject and object [is] lost'. The subject has no fixed locus, and can consequently take up residence anywhere, even at the site of the fantasy's verb or action.

This resembles the definition of desire by Elizabeth Grosz as a moving, unstable, producing force. It suggests that the production of a specular,

fluid imaginary identification is not yet fully absorbed into the Oedipal order, that fantasy in the Imaginary is capable of sliding between desire and alienation and can therefore partially evade the stable roles affirming patriarchal authority.

In the Symbolic, in contrast, Silverman continues and proposes (author's brackets and italics) that identity is structured and stable:

At that level of the fantasmatic which determines how the subject concretely lives its desire, however, the fantasmatic functions as a veritable showcase for the *moi*. Not only is it a '[script] of organised scenes which are capable of dramatisation', generally 'in a visual form, but the subject is invariably *present* there.

The mirror stage is creative and productive: 'that incorporation through which the *moi* is formed'; the Oedipus complex is reproductive and finite: 'through which the subject assumes a position within the *mis-en-scene* of desire'.

Silverman argues (7) that in accordance with the Lacanian/Althusserian mirror, the fantasmatic chooses the images 'within which the *moi* is able to 'recognize' itself by eroticising those which are commensurate with its representational imperatives'. It constructs objects of desire by assigning to and recognising pleasure in certain representations. The mutually determining relationship between the fantasmatic and the 'moi' also constructs the ability to desire (6)—'through fantasy then, we learn how to

desire'. Fantasy privileges specific objects of desire and, more importantly, specific practices of desire.

The social eroticisation of objects and images takes place through valuation by the 'dominant fiction'. Silverman calls the dominant fiction (2) 'the ideological reality through which we 'ideally' live both the symbolic order and the mode of production'. Here she explicitly combines gender (symbolic order) and class (mode of production). She writes (2) that

we do not directly inhabit either the symbolic order or the mode of production, but are accommodated to their Laws via an ideological facilitation ... we accede to this ideological facilitation only through fantasy and imaginary 'captation'.

The term dominant fiction is carefully chosen (54) to represent both imaginary and symbolic levels of fantasy:

Fiction underscores the *imaginary* rather than the delusory nature of ideology, while 'dominant' isolates from the whole repertoire of a culture's images, sounds, and narrative elaborations those through which the conventional subject is psychically aligned with the symbolic order.

The fantasmatic for her, eroticises at least two potentially contradictory fantasies. The first of these, the 'dominant' in dominant fiction, reproduces

the patriarchal structure of the Oedipal Order. Its pleasure lies in the deferral of lack and its reliance on the creation and repression of an 'other'.

The second of these, the 'fiction' in dominant fiction, aligns itself with the Imaginary and incorporates identities and desires that alter (7) their 'relation to power'. She cites examples of Imaginary fantasy and identification with masochism, with blackness or with femininity in film (Fassbinder) which consciously or unconsciously side against the seamlessness and unity of the traditional model of masculinity.

She argues (2) that fantasy does not therefore automatically obey the Oedipal Law of the Father:

unconscious desire and identification do not always follow the trajectory delineated for them in advance ... they sometimes assume forms which are profoundly antipathetic to the existing social formation.

For Silverman the dominant fiction is not simply a familial construct—it is a political one in the widest sense. It can be threatened, not only within the family, but also by Imaginary fantasy within other social and political structures beyond the Oedipal fold. She writes (52) that:

[t]he male subject's aspirations to mastery and sufficiency are undermined from many directions—by the Law of Language, which founds subjectivity on a void; by the castration crisis; by sexual,

economic and racial oppression; and by the traumatically unassimilable nature of certain historical events.

The 'fiction' of Imaginary fantasy, sympathetic to non-masculine models of cultural identity, can therefore align itself with broader historical and political phenomena which periodically threaten the patriarchal order. Using the concept of the Althusserian/Lacanian double mirror, Silverman (55) introduces the concept of the 'trauma of misrecognition', which occurs during those historical moments when the dominant fiction can no longer be sustained:

By 'historical trauma' I mean a historically precipitated but psychoanalytically specific disruption, with ramifications far beyond the individual psyche. To state the case more precisely, I mean any historical event, whether socially engineered or of natural occurrence, which brings a large group of male subjects into such an intimate relation with lack that they are at least for the moment unable to sustain an imaginary relation with the phallus, and so withdraw their belief from the dominant fiction. Suddenly the latter is radically de-realised, and the social formation finds itself without a mechanism for achieving consensus.

This, she asserts, is particularly problematic for the male, whose cultural authority relies on the fiction of the integrity and naturalism of masculine identity. She identifies war as one such period of historical trauma. She examines (8) representations of masculinity in several Hollywood films of

the mid-forties which 'say no to power' by acting out 'a massive loss of faith in masculinity'. The male characters reveal 'physical lack' not only in the form of war injuries but also in the misrecognition of traditional masculinity through uncharacteristic self-doubt. This alters (16) the authority of their social role vis-à-vis the female characters and so

at those historical moments when the prototypical male subject is unable to recognize 'himself' within its conjuration of masculine sufficiency our society suffers from a profound sense of 'ideological fatigue'.

This implies that just as individual psychoanalysis uses the identification of individual trauma to understand the meaning of dreams, so collective psychoanalysis can use collective trauma (of class, gender, national or racial conflict) to understand collective fantasy.

Silverman sees the most effective potential resistance to the dominant fiction within the fractures made possible by Imaginary fantasy. She affirms pleasure and alienation as powerful political forces. Her work has far-reaching implications for the study of institutions because it identifies a mechanism through which large, seemingly impersonal structures act on specific individuals to produce the collective unconscious of the Symbolic. More importantly, she also suggests that this process can be and is resisted through fantasy in the Imaginary. Finally, she adds class, gender and race to sexuality as important forces in the analysis of a collective unconscious.

Silverman's model, spanning the personal and the political, the visual and the verbal, the contemporary and the historical, is able to incorporate the majority of theories I have outlined so far. Using Lacan, she incorporates the domination of cultural identity through language and so allows Baudrillard's theories of cultural formation to translate to individual formation through institutions. Although she does not deal with architecture, her book examines collectively experienced cultural forms such as film, whose reception Benjamin saw as similar to that of built form. Her theorisations of the collective unconscious may therefore, if indirectly via Benjamin, be extended to the discipline of architecture. Furthermore, through their examination of literary forms, her theories bridge to the analysis of architectural publication itself. She recognises the importance of the entertainment industry (citing the example of film) in the formation of collective identity. She includes class formation in her theory of the dominant fiction. Her theory can incorporate Marxian economics and politics, Althusser's ideology and Bourdieu's symbolic capital. Her focus on masculinity as a fiction of homogeneity provides a link to the sociological theorisation of the professions, and implies that these could be studied as institutions reproducing the dominant Oedipal fiction.

This implies that study of the self-presentation of architectural institutions in times of historical trauma might form a fruitful point for the analysis of counter-hegemonic impulses in architectural imagery. Such work might identify the moments of friction within simulation, the dialectic within dream-images, the trauma within politics and the economy, the misrecognition within the Althusserian mirror, the disruptions within the

normally smooth transferral of embodied cultural capital, the ruptures in the integrity of the professional and the cracks in the masculine fiction. Such analysis, together with the harnessing of desire outside the binary model may lead to new, positive forms for architectural education that refuse a passive, unconscious obedience to its dominant fictions.

POTTERY WORKSHOP

In Dornburg near Weimar a traditional pottery center

48

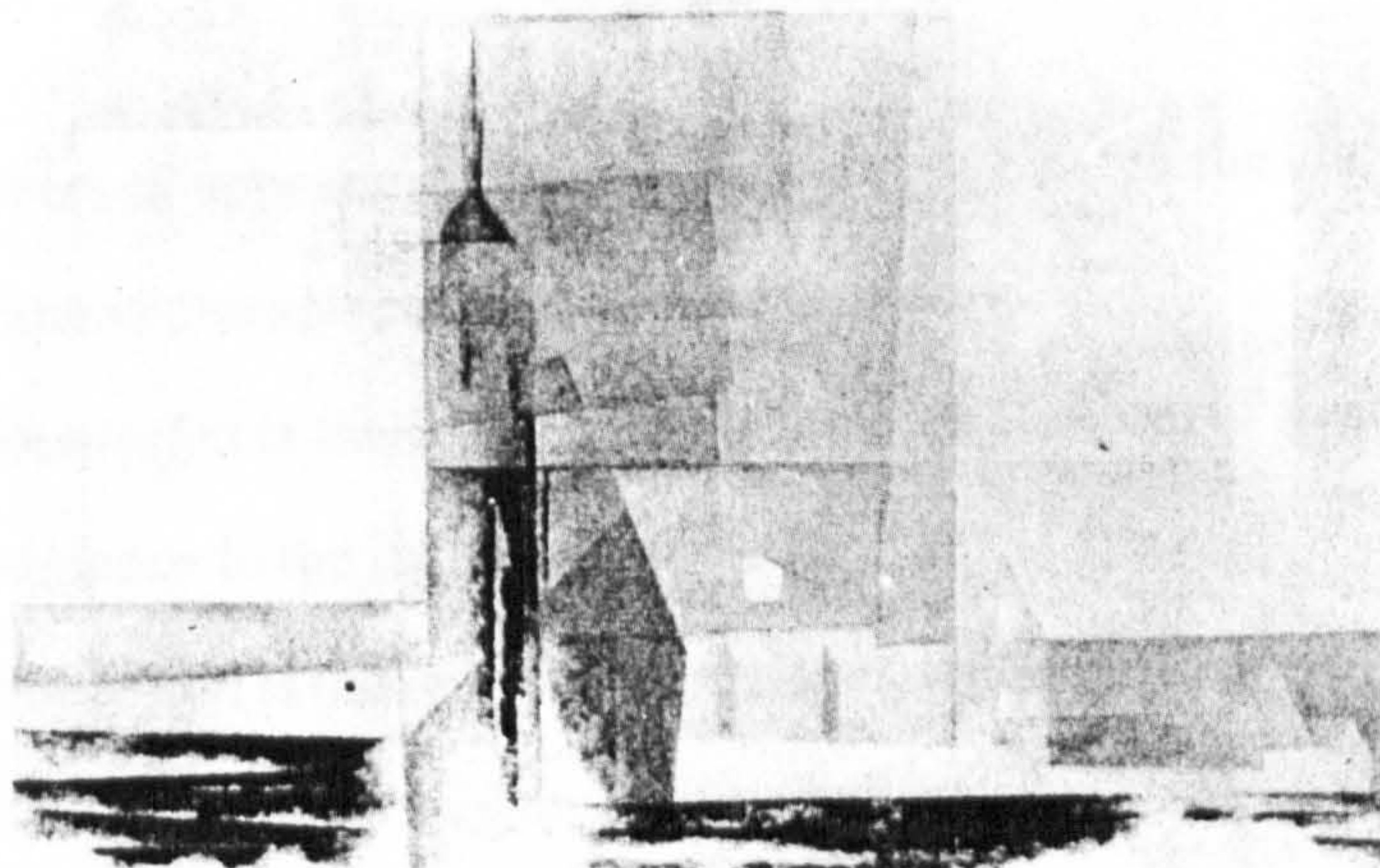


Pottery workshop,
Dornburg

DORNBURG. Romantic town on the river Saale. One of Goethe's favorite retreats

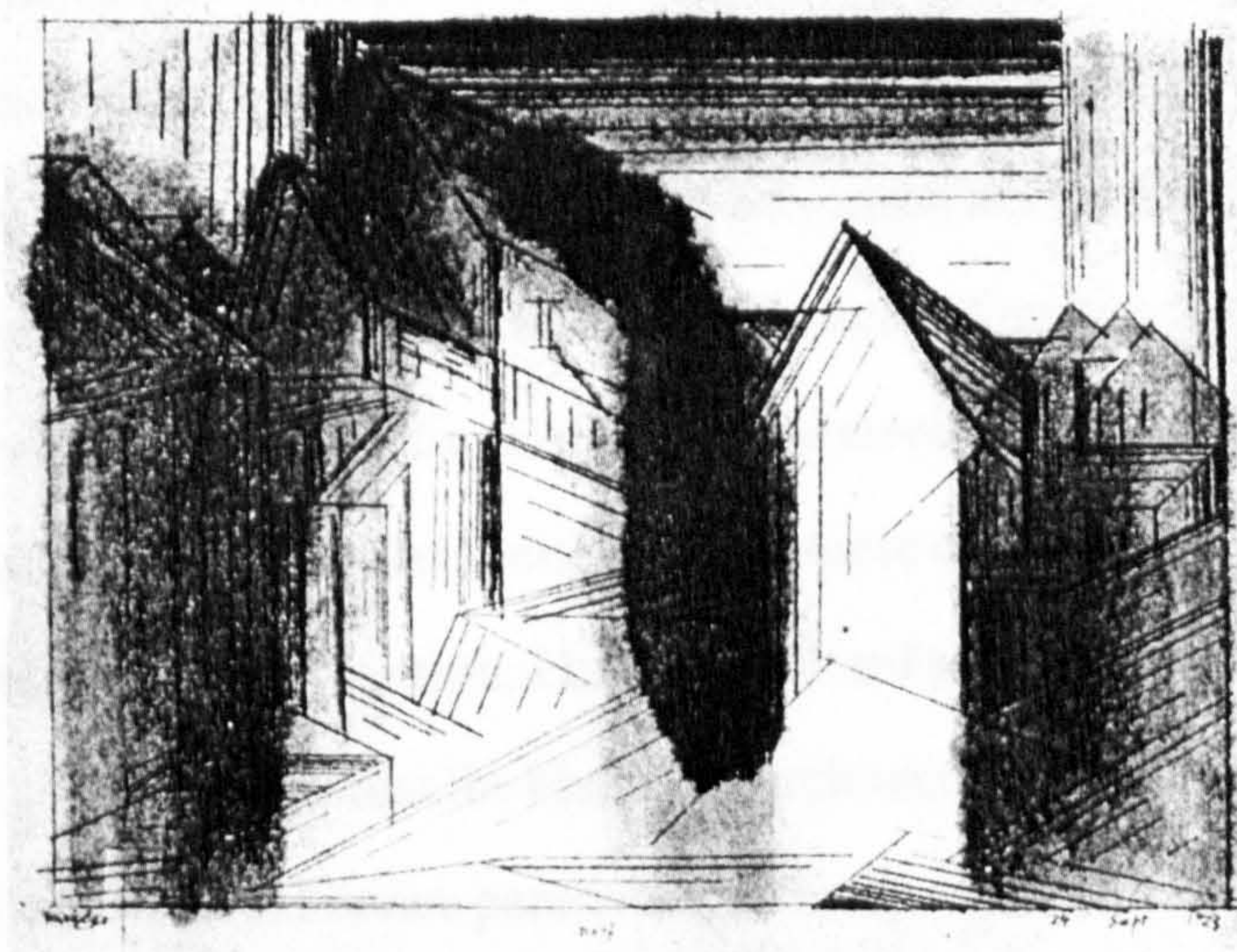


6.0 Bauhaus pottery workshop at Dornburg, 1919-1923
Bauhaus 1919-1928, 1975 ed., p. 48



lyonel feininger:
nieder-reissen.
oil on canvas. 1924

180



lyonel feininger:
village.
watercolor. 1923.

6.1. Education and Simulation

Three orders of appearance, parallel to the mutations of the law of value, have followed one another since the Renaissance:

—*Counterfeit* is the dominant scheme of the 'classical' period, from the Renaissance to the industrial revolution;

—*Production* is the dominant scheme of the industrial era;

—*Simulation* is the reigning scheme of the current phase that is controlled by the code.

Jean Baudrillard

Simulations (1983, 84)

Histories of architectural education, already limited in number, generally focus on specific historical periods and concerns internal to architecture, often re-rehearsing the 'art or profession' argument. A broadly located yet detailed historical analysis of architectural education has yet to be written. This chapter sets down a skeletal and partial history of architectural education which focuses on the relationship between architectural education, architectural practice, broader social and economic changes, and their effect on architectural sign production. I use Baudrillard's theories of the commodity sign to argue that the history of architectural education and practice since the Renaissance parallels the transformations in the Baudrillardian orders of simulacra. The chapter focuses on three models of architectural education and practice: the fourteenth and fifteenth century English medieval master-masons' guild; the Academy and Royal Building Administration of French absolutist monarchy in the seventeenth century ;

and the École Polytechnique and other nineteenth century institutions. The chapter ends at the threshold of the age of simulation, which is examined in greater detail in chapters 6 to 10 which deal with the Bauhaus.

The first purpose of this chapter is to construct a Baudrillardian historical narrative for contemporary architectural education. The second purpose of this chapter is to identify and describe models of architectural education associated with each order of simulation. These historical educational models are used later, in the detailed analysis of the Bauhaus. The third purpose of this chapter is to show how changes in architectural education and practice from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century related to broader cultural, economic and social changes, and in particular to Marxian categories of economy and technology. The cumulative purpose of the historical analysis that follows is to affirm the relationship of the architectural discipline to forces beyond its control.

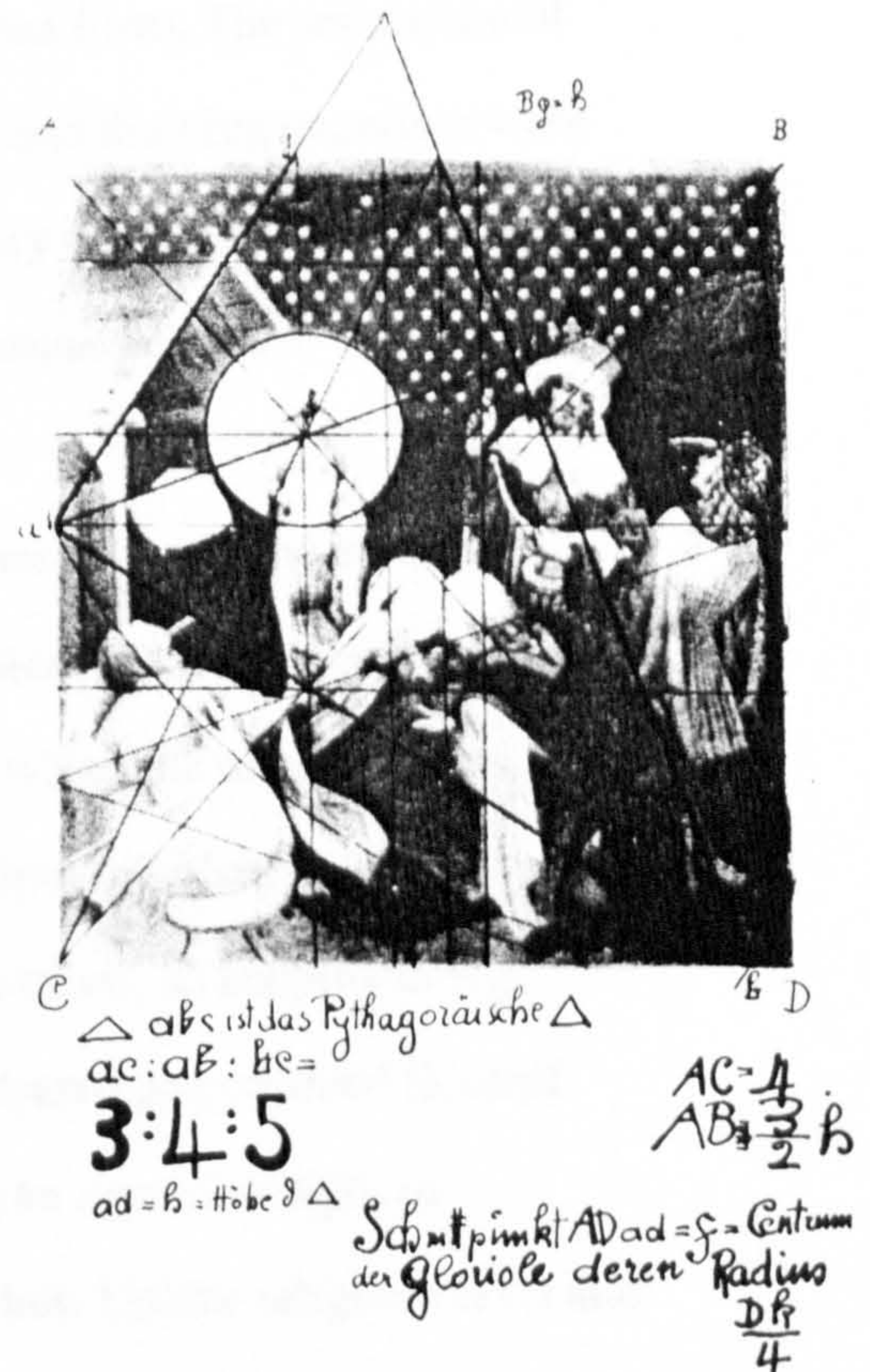
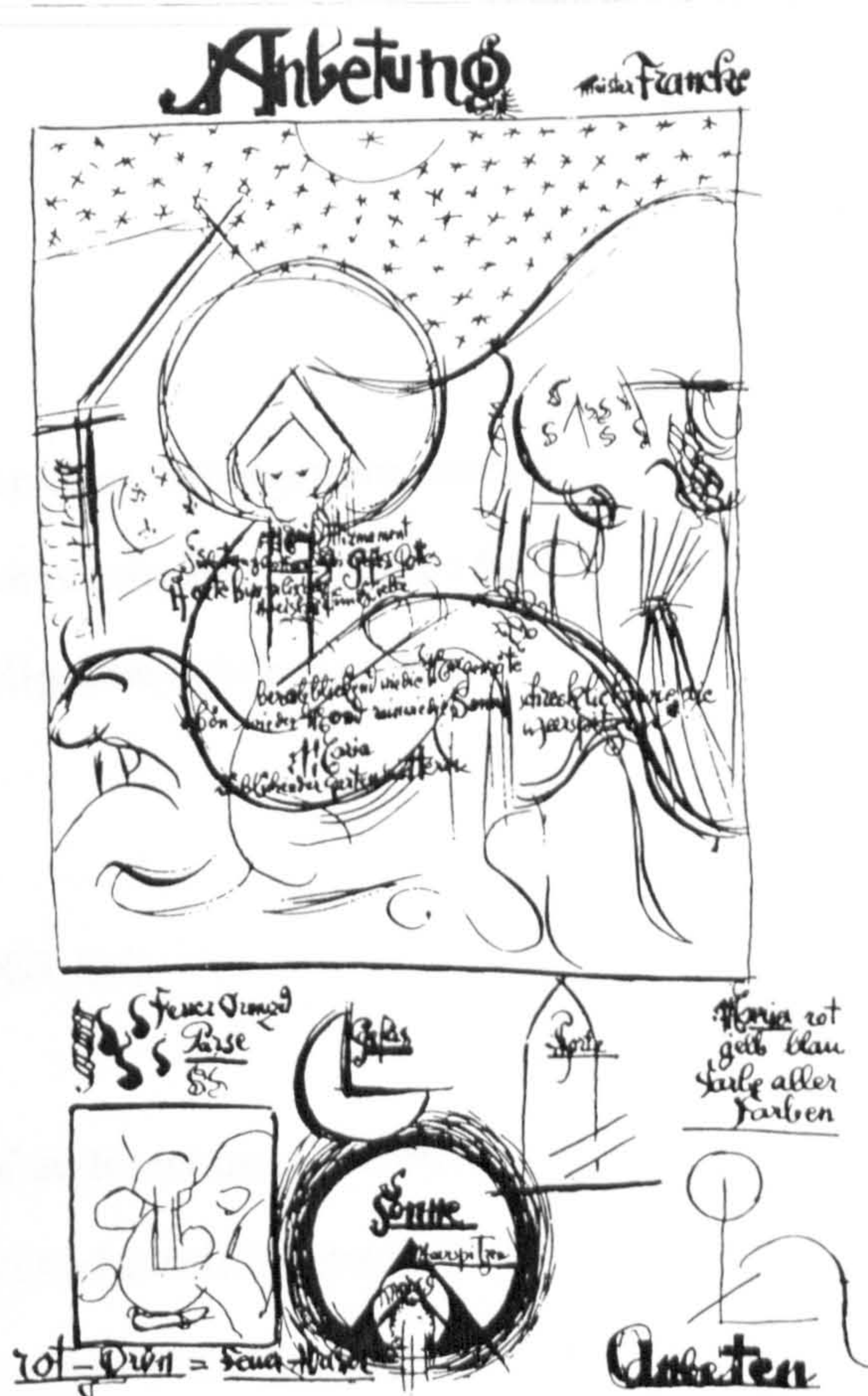
PRELIMINARY COURSE, WEIMAR April/May, 1922

Each Bauhaus student is at first admitted for a trial period of six months to work in the preliminary course. This course is intended to liberate the student's creative power, to give him an understanding of nature's materials, and to acquaint him with the basic principles which underly all creative activity in the visual arts. Every new student arrives encumbered with a mass of accumulated information which he must abandon before he can achieve perception and knowledge that are really his own. If he is to work in wood, for example, he must know his material thoroughly; he must have a "feeling" for wood. He must also understand its relation to other materials, to stone and glass and wool. Consequently, he works with these materials as well, combining and composing them to make their relationships fully apparent.

Preparatory work also involves exact depiction of actual materials. If a student draws or paints a piece of wood true to nature in every detail, it will help him to understand the material. The work of old masters, such as Bosch, Master Francke or Grünewald also offers instruction in the study of form, which is an essential part of the preliminary course. This instruction is intended to enable the student to perceive the harmonious relationship of different rhythms and to express such harmony through the use of one or several materials. The preliminary course concerns the student's whole personality, since it seeks to liberate him, to make him stand on his own feet, and makes it possible for him to gain a knowledge of both material and form through direct experience.

A student is tentatively admitted into a workshop after a six month's trial period if he has sufficiently mastered form and materials to specialize in work with one material only. If he has a talent for wood, he goes into the carpentry shop; if his preference is for woven materials, he goes into the weaving workshop. At the conclusion of a second successful trial period of six months he is definitely admitted to the workshop as an apprentice. Three years as an apprentice make him eligible for examinations to become a journeyman.

As a matter of principle, each apprentice has to do his own designing. No outside designs, not even designs made by Bauhaus masters, may be executed in the workshops. (from Bibl. no. 6.)



6.2. The Feudal Order

In caste societies, feudal or archaic, *cruel* societies, the signs are limited in number, and are not widely diffused, each one functions with its full value as interdiction, each is a reciprocal obligation between castes, clans or persons.

Jean Baudrillard

Simulations (1983, 84)

In Baudrillard's Feudal Order the production of architecture relied on a limited code of signs. Signs belonged to a strict and carefully guarded system of religious and patriarchal symbolism, and were not easily reproducible. Literacy and numeracy was not universal. Communication was therefore usually in verbal rather than written form. The separation of education and practice was minimal; textbooks and drawing exercises were therefore unnecessary. Architecture as a category distinct from building did not exist and architect and craftsman were the same person.

Design and construction documentation was rare because it was seldom required. Architectural signs consisted of practical constructional knowledge and examples of simple geometrical formulae which the master-mason used to replicate, with small variations, dominant typologies learnt on site through experience. Masons memorised these types, so keeping design knowledge from public circulation. The few drawings produced (Kostof 1977, 87) were usually for patrons, depicting an agreed design, or occasionally were working drawings or sketches. Unlike religious texts and

drawings which had cult value, drawings and texts describing buildings were used only when spoken descriptions, dependent on typological precedent, were inadequate. Drawings had almost no public function and were seldom copied or archived for study or exhibition. Vellum, on which most drawings and texts were made (Fitchen 1961, 55) was expensive; it was usually reused and eventually boiled down for glue. Due to their limited symbolic and practical value, few architectural drawings or texts from the Middle Ages have therefore survived.

The production of architectural signs for the construction site was also restricted. Speech and practical example were the common form of communication on site. Written text, given the general lack of literacy in the building trades, was reserved for important labour contracts, orders for materials, accounts and transactions between masons, patrons and other master-craftsmen. Constructional knowledge and, far more importantly, geometry was learnt by example, passed down within the masons' lodge or workshop, at first from father to son and later from master to apprentice.

Geometry formed the principal means of organising design. It was learnt by repetition rather than through a set of theoretical and philosophical principles; it was therefore difficult to elaborate creatively. The lack of numeracy and the late arrival (Freeman-Butts 1955, 151) of decimal numbers in Europe from Arabia in the late Middle Ages meant that geometry used only the simplest mathematical calculations, limiting innovation.

Unlike the abstract philosophical and mathematical system of Renaissance geometry, its medieval precedent reached its fullest potential in its

application to a precise problem on site. It was a modular system of visual typologies and the practical application of proportion. This made it adaptable to the varying scales of the many half-completed buildings typical of the Middle Ages but did not encourage creative use of its generating principles.

Knowledge of geometry was institutionally restricted by the guilds. Only apprentices to master-masons could learn its principles and, once master-masons themselves, could not use it except under the regulation of the guild. In the late Middle Ages masonic knowledge was not so restricted. At the end of the fifteenth century (Salzman 1977) Mathes Roriczer and Hannes Schmuttermayer, both German masons, published treatises on the geometry of building without excommunication from the lodge. Earlier, as journeymen moved between cathedral lodges on the Continent, transfer of knowledge took place and led to notable influences on both design and organisation carried out by the guilds. The betrayal of architectural knowledge could be harshly punished (Kostof 1977, 65):

the Norman architect Lanfrey was said to have been beheaded in 1094 upon the completion of the castle at Ivry to keep him from building a similar or better castle.

In the guild, such offences were dealt with, in England at least, by the guild court (Harvey 1972, 201) upholding the masons ordinances:

The third point: that he can hele (conceal) the counsel of his fellows in lodge and in chamber and in every place thereas masons be.

The guild court (143) usually consisted only of masons. It kept no records; privileged knowledge remained outside public circulation.

On larger building sites, where the application of geometry was more widespread, a spatial division of labour also restricted its free transmission. The various trades each had their own hut for storage and production. The masons lodge, a shelter for carving and storage of stonework, was (114, my italics) for verbal, practical instruction and work:

a lodge was a place for conversation, *that is a parlour*. On building sites it included the banker or covered shed wherein the cutting masons hewed stones on the bench ... The lodge with the banker must generally if not invariably have been at ground level for convenience of handling the stones.

In contrast, the tracing-house or 'domus tracer' was the repository of the geometric knowledge, where the master-mason produced templates, usually on the floor. This surface, normally made of a slab of chalk, was rubbed down after each drawing had been transferred to templates of wood or linen. The templates, often carrying several plan layers of information and, depending on the geometrical complexity of the stone to be carved, several facade layers of information as well, could only be decoded and correctly transferred to the surfaces of the stone by another mason. The tracing-house was often located away from the lodge, sometimes two or three storeys up the emerging construction. Containing the templates and geometrical

instruments (compass, square and plumb line), it had (116) restricted access:

the tracing-house was the preserve of the master, his assistants and pupils ... whereas the lodge was accessible to all the working masons.

The need to rub down the tracing-house floor to execute new instructions prevented permanent documentation of the geometrical derivation of building parts; the master-mason and his apprentices memorised this information and referred to templates if these were kept.

Unlike the technical and geometrical knowledge of the masons, architectural iconography had a powerful public presence because its religious symbolism played a key role in the reproduction of the medieval unconscious. Architectural iconography was also made by the illuminator-monks of the scriptorium but such manuscripts were made for a small and privileged audience of literate clerics and citizens. The general population experienced architectural dream-images in built form.

In churches and cathedrals light, figuration and spatial order formed the principal sacred narratives, communicating in visual forms necessary for a largely illiterate populace. Light entered through stained-glass, which often depicted biblical scenes.

Light dematerialised (von Simson 1956, 4) the heavy construction of gothic cathedrals:

Light, which is ordinarily concealed by matter, appears as the active principle; and matter is aesthetically real only insofar as it partakes of, and is defined by, the luminous quality of light.

Figuration represented liturgical elements in two- or three-dimensions. In larger cathedrals it was often the work of a specialist mason, carpenter or painter, sometimes (Salzman 1952, 31) given the Latin name *imaginarius*: 'we find a class of 'Imagers' developing quite early. One, Thomas the Imager (*imaginarius*), is referred to casually in a London record of 1226'.

Spatial organisation attempted to represent the holy integrity of the body (Harvey 1972, 26):

In his time the fabric of this church was so much enlarged that one might say of it, as the learned doctors do of well-fashioned churches, that it was formed after the image of the human body. For it had, as still can be seen, a chancel which, with the sanctuary, is like the head and neck; the choir with its stalls as the chest; the transept projecting as two sleeves or wings on each side of the choir, the arms and hands; the crossing of the minster the belly; and the lower arm of the cross, displaying symmetrically two aisles on north and south, the thighs and shins.

Most churches and cathedrals also housed relics of the saints; these were sprinkled under foundations or placed in the crypt or altar and acted as further emblems of the unity of the body and of the Church.

The importance of iconography in religious buildings meant that its control rested not with the mason but with religious patrons. Decisions were often made collegially. Patrons claimed authorship; there was therefore (Kostof 1977, 60):

a reluctance on the part of sponsoring agencies, primarily the Church, to acknowledge the specific identity of the professional experts in charge of the structures it commissioned.

A division between the dream images of sacred iconography and the practical knowledge of geometry and construction in the Middle Ages did therefore exist. Symbolic representation upheld the authority of the religious apparatus; geometrical and technical knowledge consolidated the social and economic status of the masons guild.

The medieval economy was based on scarcity of labour and later of materials. Hunger, disease and war caused a shortage of workers and possession of practical skills was therefore more important than abstract knowledge.

Knowledge entered direct practice—a smaller workforce and simpler methods of construction resulted, accompanied (60) by a

shift of the profession since the collapse of the Roman Empire—from an intellectual pursuit that required a liberal education as a base, to an empirical skill that could be learned within the restricted compass of apprenticeship.

The shift to craft skills narrowed the difference between signification and production. After the seventh century (60), 'the term *architecture* appears with less and less frequency in mediaeval writings'. Later, as the population began to increase, materials once again became more costly than labour. Materials, needed to be conserved and reused. Scaffolding timber was precious and was reused many times in the same building. The building of vices—stairs built at the same time as walls or piers around them (89), minimised scaffolding and reduced the quantity of necessary structural stonework.

Gradually in the late Middle Ages a differentiation of roles began to reappear; architect-masons understood the theoretical implications of geometry (the term 'architectus' began to appear), whereas master-builders excelled in their practical implications.

Churches and cathedrals used by far the highest proportion of scarce resources, whether of labour or materials, and thus stood, along with religious manuscripts as the most important sphere of sign production in the

Middle Ages. To limit competition in price, the movement of masons was generally restricted. Freedom to practice was generally geographically specific. When a mason moved to a new locality, he became a 'foreigner' and his mark, especially if close to that of a local mason, could be forfeited and replaced. This placed limits on the dissemination of the mason's knowledge and practice. There were exceptions to this restriction on physical mobility. Lodges would be founded to carry out special building projects and depended (Harvey 1975, 24) on the mobility of journeymen-masons:

It was typical of the Middle Ages that ... there were also routes of escape. Outside the municipally organised system were free occupations not tied to a borough. Such were the Tinmen of the Stannaries of Devon and Cornwall, the Free Miners of the Forest of Dean, the Minstrels with their own court at Tutbury, and above all the Free Masons who held their own assemblies under the 'Constitutions'.

A mason had to buy the 'freedom of the Borough' (Harvey 1975, 23) to be able to practice locally and become a master:

First and foremost was the payment to take up the freedom, the right to practice their craft and sell their products. The charges varied greatly, from quite a small sum in the case of those who claimed their right by patrimony—as sons of their fathers who were freemen; ranging up to a higher fee demanded of those who had been apprenticed to freemen; to

very heavy dues payable by foreigners. The word 'foreigner' had the sense still applied by local dialect usage; everyone not a local inhabitant.

The main ideological apparatus in the Middle Ages was that of religion, which in turn provided commissions and legitimacy to the masons' guilds. The guild was a secular apparatus controlling architectural education and construction. It regulated numbers and progress of apprentices, examined the mason's skill in journeyman's examinations', allotted masons' marks and sanctioned marriages. It also met to set wage levels. It was controlled at a higher level by state law —aristocratic and municipal administrations—and higher still by the patronage of the church. However, the general monopoly of the guild over the working practices of their members protected them against surplus production and the drop in prices this entailed.

Patriarchy formed another cornerstone of the medieval building world. Before the emergence of the guilds, the *Barbati Fratres* formed (Fort 1884, 18-30) a medieval order of bearded medieval mason-monks, forming a threat to religious doctrine which associated godliness with a shaved tonsure and an absence of facial hair. The order was able to resist orders to shave by threatening to burn down all the churches it had built. In the masons guild, the main regulatory instruments—the ordinances—elevated the status of the mason by making knowledge of geometry concomitant with 'good blood' acquired through a pure patriarchal bloodline. In the 'Old Book of Charges' listed in *The London Mason in the Seventeenth Century* (Knoop 1935), documenting the mythical beginnings of masonry, body and geometry

aligned to embody masonic cultural capital. John Harvey (Harvey 1972, 199) quotes this key text:

Good men, for this cause and this manner masonry took first beginning. It befell sometime that great lords had not so great possessions that they might not advance their free begotten children for they had so many. Therefore they took counsel how they might their children advance and ordain them honestly to live; and sent after wise masters of the worthy science of Geometry that they through their wisdom should ordain some honest living body.

The ordinances were also explicit about the alliance between patriarchy and the reproduction of knowledge. The ordinances of the masons are the only craft ordinances I have been able to find that made strict demands on the bloodline and carnal relations of its members. They were the severest and most extensive of all the guild ordinances, even those of the goldsmiths, who had access to knowledge of architectural geometry through the making of miniature buildings as reliquaries but whose art was of lesser symbolic significance. The ordinances of the goldsmiths and the carpenters were far less onerous and referred largely to quality of workmanship. In the masons guilds, on the contrary, apprentices had to produce testimony from their fathers to prove legitimacy; masters were otherwise not permitted to accept them (200): 'the Fourth Article is this: that no master for no profit take no prentice for to be learned that is not born of bond blood'. The purity of the bloodline was also ensured by prescribing proper sexual relations—

apprentices and masters were not permitted to engage in extra-marital relations nor live in concubinage (201):

The seventh Point: that he covet not the wife nor the daughter of his masters nor of his fellows, but if it be in marriage, nor hold concubines, for discord that might fall amongst them.

Many apprentices not sons of masons joined the bloodline by marrying the daughters of their masters. This not only elevated their social standing but provided access to capital and work necessary to start up on their own as masters employing journeymen and apprentices; in this role they acted as small capitalists, combining production and sale, workshop and shop. Bloodline and knowledge provided the mason with opportunities for larger commissions and greater profit.

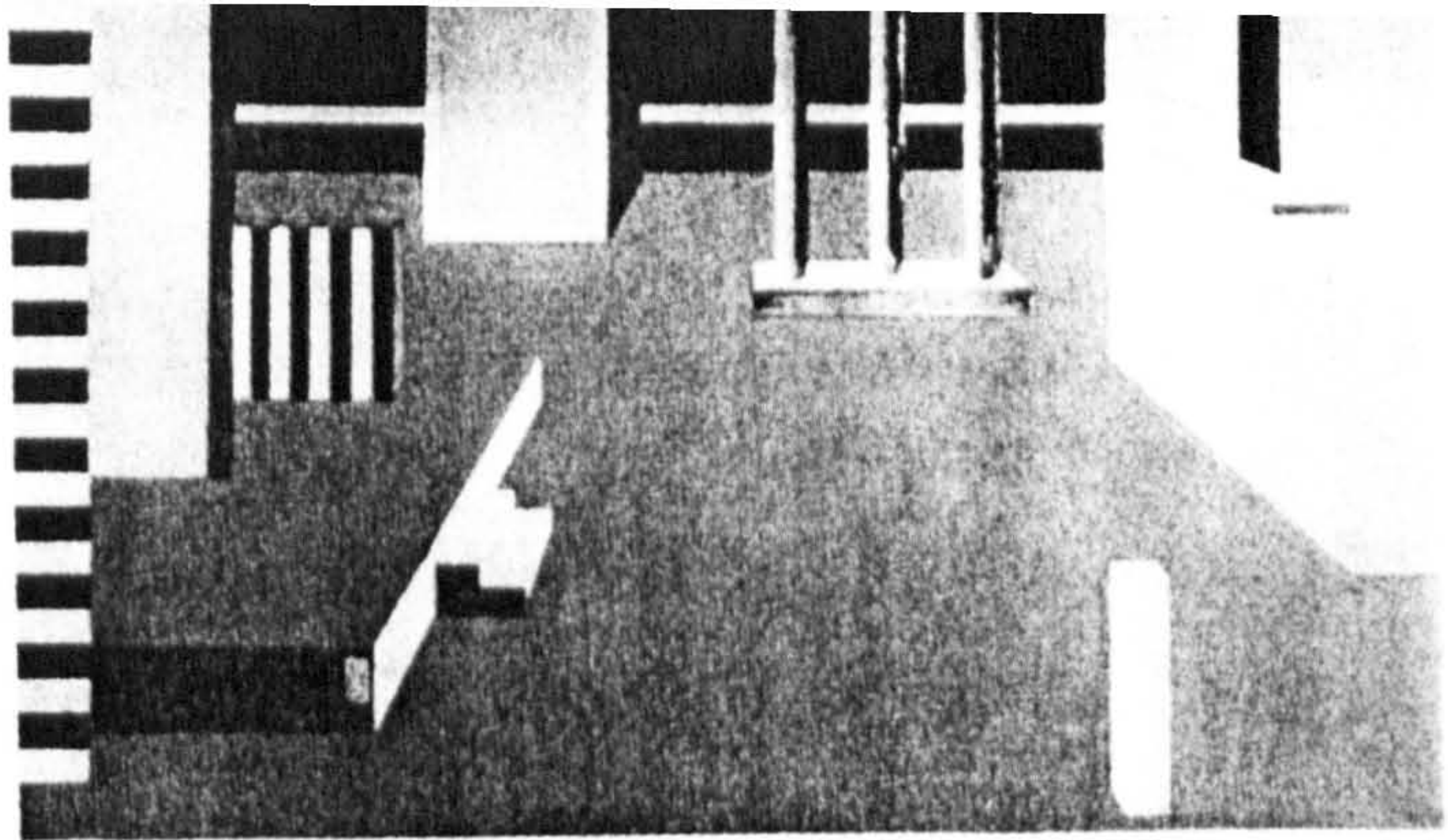
The production of medieval building took place within systems of signification that gave significant cultural and economic status to masons. The mason's craft centred on producing the most important cultural form of the Middle Ages—the cathedral. Masons had limited access to the production of its religious meaning, but the restrictions placed on their constructional secrets maintained scarcity and a high economic value for their work. Their elaborate rituals of self-representation, relying on purity of the body and a patriarchal bloodline for symbolic coherence, conferred their practice with high embodied cultural capital in relation to their religious and secular masters.

The centrality of masons to the public transmission of religious values provides an ideological explanation why the masons' guilds had to exercise such strict control over the images, knowledge, bodies and practices of their membership. There were no architectural simulacra in the Middle Ages. Architectural dream-images (sacred iconography) served the ruling religious class. Architectural signs could not be reproduced and traded because their production was severely limited by divine authority and guild statutes. Time-consuming manual documentation and the shortage of labour also limited their geographical mobility and historical transmission. The dreaming collective (the worshipping public) experienced them collectively, generally as representations of ur-historical biblical narrative. There were no representations with which to create a dialectical constellation. Symbolic fantasy dominated, reproducing religious and patriarchal values. The dominant architectural fiction was relatively seamless.

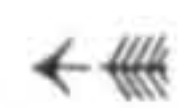
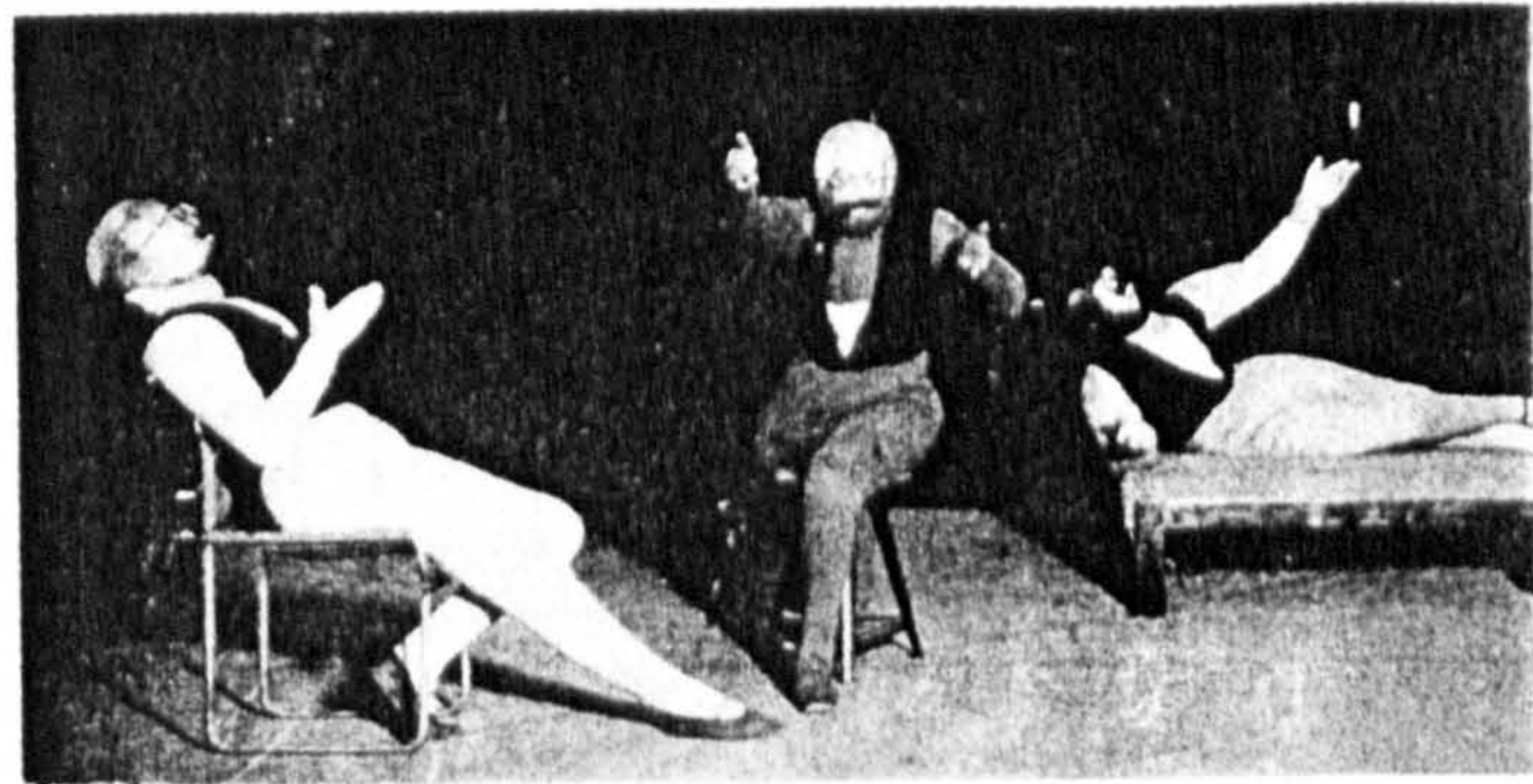


xanti schawinsky:
design for a theater
curtain

xanti schawinsky:
stage set for a
shakespearean play. the
units can be combined in
various ways. executed at
zwickau, 1926

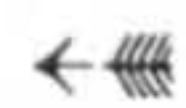
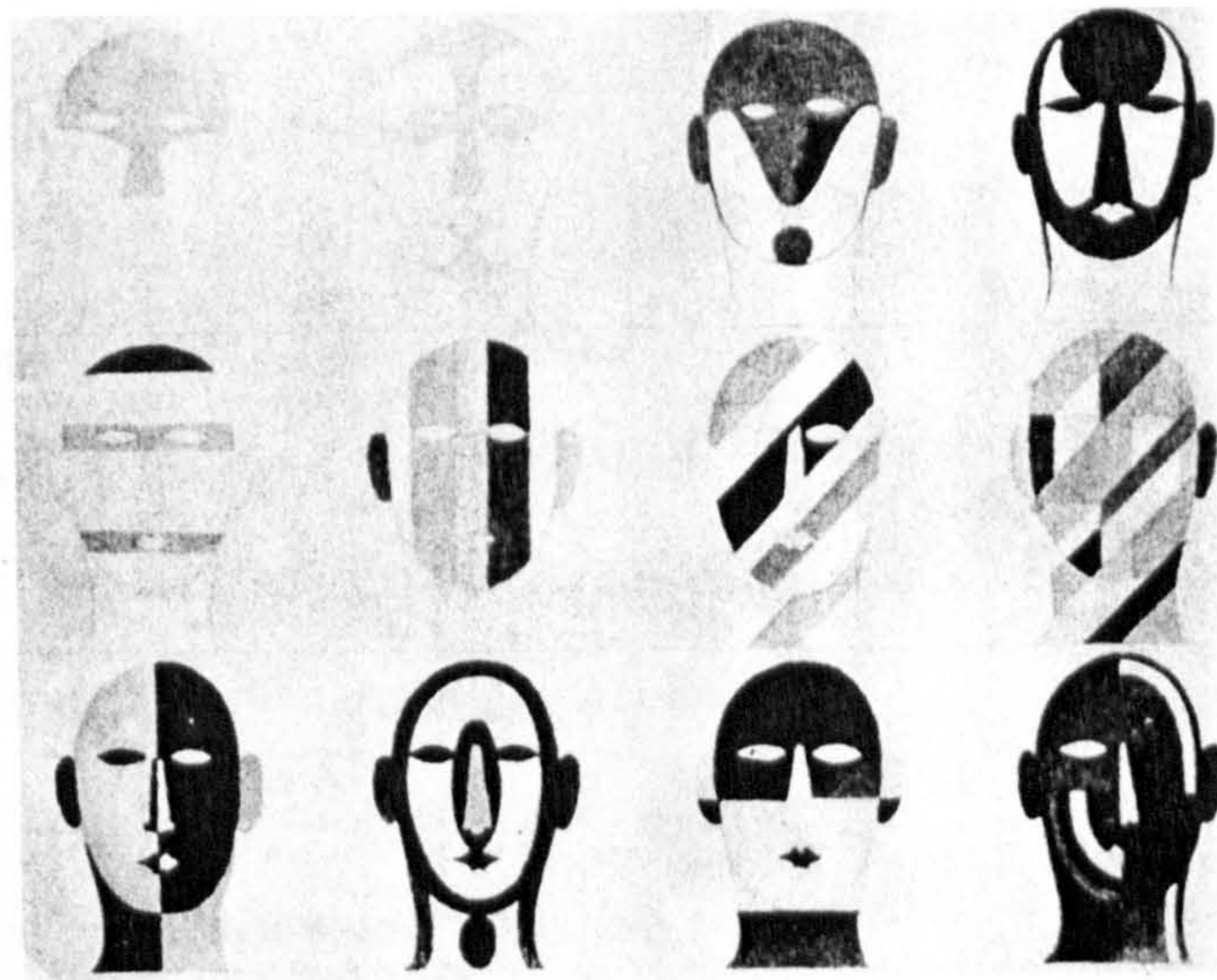


oskar schlemmer: *dance
of gestures*. danced by
schlemmer, kaminsky,
siedoff. 1927



xanti schawinsky:
design for georg kaiser's
from morn till midnight.
1926

oskar schlemmer:
variations on a mask.
drawings for class in stage
theory



xanti schawinsky:
figures for robbers' ballet
in *two gentlemen of
verona*. 1925

oskar schlemmer: stilt-
walkers, design for a
ballet. drawings for class
in stage theory. c. 1927



6.3 The Counterfeit Order

The modern [Counterfeit] sign dreams of signs of the past and would well appreciate finding again, in its reference to the real, an *obligation*: but what it finds again is only a *reason*: this referential reason, this real, this 'natural' off which it is going to live. But this bond of designation is only the simulacrum of symbolic obligation: it produces neutral values only, that can be exchanged in an objective world ... Problematic of the 'natural,' metaphysics of reality and appearance: that is the history of the bourgeoisie since the Renaissance ...

Jean Baudrillard

Simulations (1983, 85-6, my brackets)

In the Renaissance the printed page transformed architecture into a commodity sign. Architecture could now be produced, circulated and consumed as a reproduction, detached from its physical and cultural origin. Architectural dream-images changed from the built narrative symbolism of medieval liturgy to representations of classical antiquity in a new and greater range of media, including painting, sculpture, theatre and especially print. Within a short period from the invention of the printing press, architectural texts of antiquity, gothic manuals on geometry and treatises by new Renaissance authors were being published. Vitruvius (available in manuscript form in the Middle Ages) was the first to be printed, followed by Alberti (also originally a manuscript), Serlio and others. Later, in the Baroque era, architectural publications began to diversify and consisted of copybooks, philosophical treatises and archaeological architectural texts

written by a variety of authors, including builders, patrons, architects and other scholars.

Architectural signification entered a new, codified system of circulation based on competition. New patrons—the monarchy of Northern Europe and the mercantile aristocracy of Italy—saw architecture as a sign of status and competed with each other through the adoption and elaboration of classical forms made available through printed treatises. The end of sacred authority was represented by the demise of religious representation and the new patrons' fascination for representations of illusion embodied in the architecture of the theatre and masques. The newly emancipated sign still feigned truth through the guarantors of universal reason of classicism, the realism of perspective and of highly detailed models. This concealed the new role of the architect as a speculator in signs; texts, scenography and imagery rather than buildings became increasingly important in legitimising his status and that of his patrons.

When signification divided from production, architecture emerged as a discipline distinct from building. Drawing and construction gravitated to two different and increasingly autonomous institutions. Signification became the focus of education and publication. These defined architectural knowledge as theory and aesthetics—systematised and reproducible regimes of signs—embodied in the printed architectural treatise and the architect as intellectual. Practical constructional skills, other than knowledge capable of reproduction within the emerging publications on building, lost status. Apprenticeship as a route to architectural knowledge still existed but, to lead

to the desired social standing and commissions, had to be accompanied by 'learning'. The most prestigious form of learning was gained largely through publications.

The learned architecture of mercantile democracy existed primarily to represent and raise the status of its patron through competition. In Elizabethan England (Jenkins 1961, 7-8):

Men vied with each other in their building projects, which were regarded not only as evidence of their wealth and power, but as settings for Her Majesty should she decide to honour their establishments by a visit.

Whether controlled by education, as in the new Academies or, as in the combination of apprenticeship, self-initiated study and the Grand Tour, the architect could no longer only be a craftsman. Study of signification, rather than practical experience of building production became the major route into architecture in the Counterfeit Order. Knowledge of mathematics, theatre, painting and sculpture all became valued attributes. In Britain, Wren, Vanbrugh and Jones (mathematician, playwright and picture-maker respectively) embodied the new cultural origins of the architect. Each gained his knowledge through classical learning.

The new architectural signs now relied on myths of origin to conceal their mobility and exchangeability. These were illusory because they were no longer guaranteed by the absolute authority of God and were therefore

capable of constant revision. They invoked newly arrived narratives of history, nature, individuality, and originality, underpinned by guarantees of universal reason associated with (Wren 1730, 351) the classical orders: 'Architecture aims at Eternity; and therefore the only Thing incapable [sic] of Modes and Fashions is its Principals, the Orders.' The audience for the new architecture included the monarchy, aristocracy and educated bourgeoisie, who alone possessed the learning to appreciate it. Unlike the medieval era, the general population formed only a secondary and incidental audience for the new architecture. The consumption of architectural dream-imagery therefore became a more élite and private act.

The example of Inigo Jones' theatre designs shows the shift of iconography from public persuasion to an élite courtly immersion in illusion and contemplation. Jones' classical scenography was designed for the monarch. It represented courtly ideology by presenting an idealised picture of the court of classical reason. It acted (Harris et al., 1973, 62) 'to reduce tempestuous and turbulent natures into a sweet calm of civil concord'. Action and scenography symbolically showed the superior relation (36) of monarchy at the court:

Actors perform the speaking roles as the royalty cannot stoop to such occupations. The world of actors became the anti-masque, a world of vice and deceit countered by the ideal world of the masque.

The scenography itself employed new mechanical and pyrotechnic technologies for moving scenery, explosions and special effects to simulate

an alliance between the monarchy and divine powers. Inigo Jones was praised for his originality and genius in the construction (35) of such dramatic spectacles:

[he] designed a stage that was utterly new to England, employing complex machinery, elaborate lighting effects, and illusionistic settings devised according to the rules of perspective.

The design of the scenes used classical elements, often reinterpreted by Jones from Italian sources, but the plays themselves drew on Roman, Greek and sometimes Egyptian mythology to confer historical status on the key figures allegorically representing the monarchy. Originality, genius and history, alongside classical reason, formed the legitimising forms of the new architecture of illusion.

Economic relations between architects and patrons also changed. The invention of printing made architectural knowledge available to all literate citizens. Educated patrons emerged (Jenkins 1961, 10), calling themselves architects and challenged the protectionism of the guilds. The guilds were unwilling to give up collective bargaining, which made masons more expensive than architects. The guilds resisted classical learning and new construction techniques. The new secular patrons did not have the same hold over masons' souls as the medieval Church and could not therefore compel masons to embrace the new classical architectural signs and new working practices.

Patrons tried to bypass the restrictive practices of the guilds by commissioning architects with knowledge of the classical orders, who had learned their art through publications, travel or learning in classical disciplines and did not belong to a guild. Such architects experienced the insecurities and rewards of the open market. In bypassing the guilds, patrons could replace one architect by another, cancel work at any time and, because there was no copyright, take credit for the work. Commissions were often only for design, badly paid and individually negotiated.

Architects often lived as a patron's retainers. Unlike the medieval mason, the Renaissance architect mirrored his identity not on an architectural bloodline but on the social behaviour and knowledge of his patron. Andrea Palladio's transformation, initiated and supported by his patron, from the son of a farmer into an intellectual ultimately equal to his aristocratic master represents (Ackerman 1966, 20) the new relationship of the architect with the mercantile aristocracy.

The organisation of architectural work changed. The tasks of the architect began to divide into that of a designer located away from the site, and a site architect supervising work. The new relationship of distance required (Robbins 1988, 48, my brackets) new means of visual and verbal communication:

The development of scaled drawings and mathematical models made such control possible ... [and] created whole new architectural logics based on design without necessary realisation, e.g. formalism, and

further enabled the architect to move away from the conventional to the idiosyncratic in design.

The intellectual division of labour, also embodied in the greater use of written contracts, characterised the architects task for the first time.

The printed architectural treatise and the architect as intellectual all testified and reinforced the process whereby architectural signification and architectural construction divided into two increasingly autonomous institutions: education and practice. Many architects were not asked to supervise construction, not only because this was cheaper but because design was now seen as the most prestigious part of an architect's activity. The divide between signification and construction therefore grew. Architectural education became an autonomous institution dedicated to the manipulation of architecture as a formal system of signs.

The emergence of architecture as a sign simulating a fixed bond with things whilst operating according to principles of equivalence and exchange can be seen in the model of the Academy. The foundation of the first school of architecture, the Académie Royale d'Architecture in 1671, whilst retaining some elements of guild training (apprenticeship), depended on a new structure and ideology of architectural production. The separation of the teaching of architecture from the construction site implied that architecture could now be considered primarily as the production of signs through drawings. The Académie Royale d'Architecture formalised, for the first time, the 'precession of signs' within a powerful new ideological apparatus.

Its establishment in 17th century France introduced the language of classicism as a means whereby absolutist monarchy could destroy the power of the church and exert control over aristocratic and eventually also bourgeois culture.

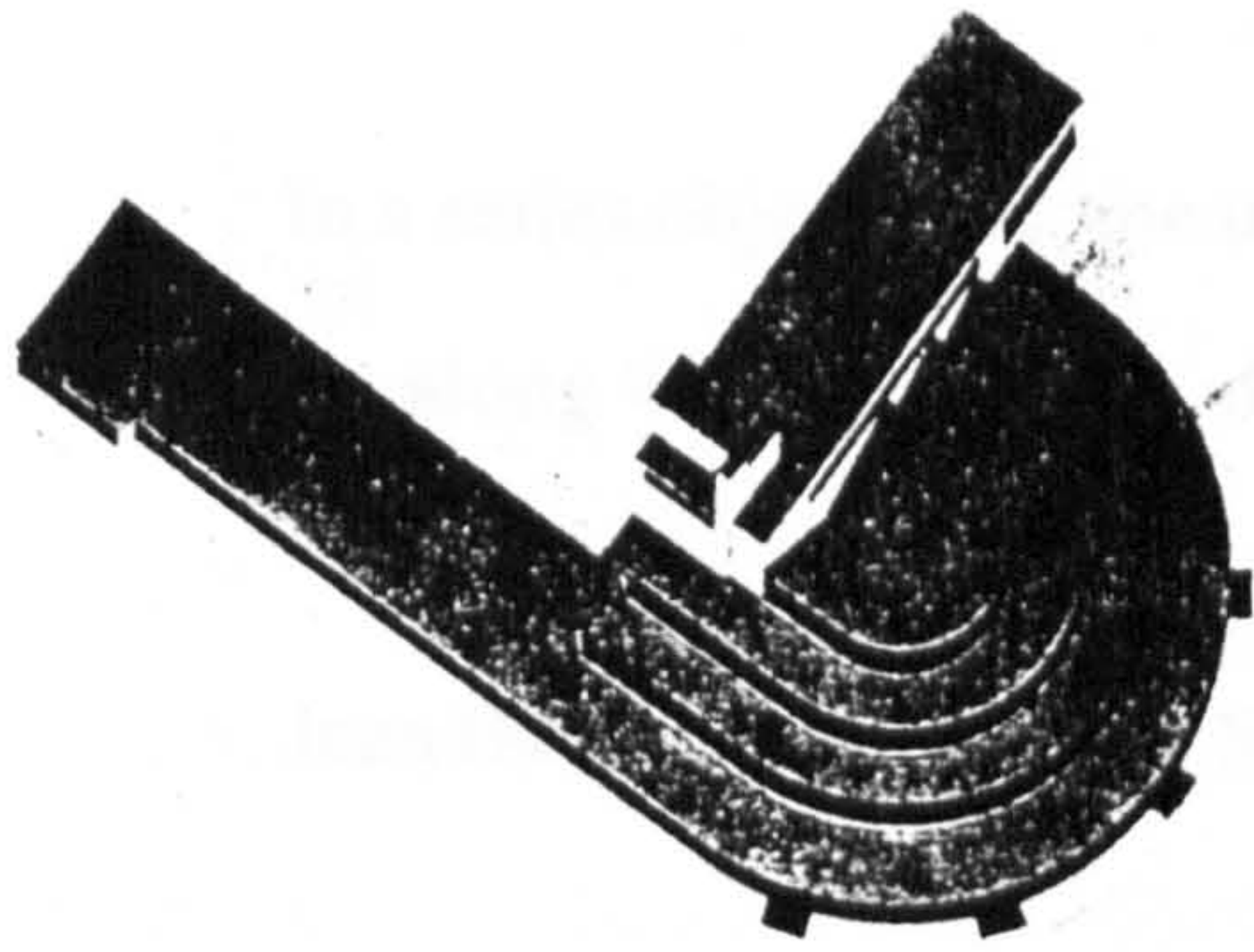
The purpose of the Académie Royale d'Architecture was: to teach the correct use of architectural signs, through discussion and drawing; and to debate, define and record definitions of beauty. In their very first meeting, the academicians proposed that a crisis in the understanding of beauty had arisen, and that this was to be resolved through their discussions and decisions about the correct way to achieve beauty. The adoption of the visual codes of classicism, the regular verbal definition of the structures of this code in the recorded meetings of the academicians (documented by a historian even if the decisions were contradicted by archaeological evidence) and the growing status of drawing as an end in itself (represented in the obsessively drafted submissions for the Prix de Rome) all indicate the readiness to utilise and pin down the power of signification. In their meetings, the academicians made serious efforts to determine universal rules for the classical orders, despite the fact that the system of reason relied on the inherent mobility and exchangeability of signs. Through the systematisation of classical reason, which could place signs in changing relationships to one another, architectural elements became mobile and exchangeable whilst counterfeiting a fixity through the concept of 'universality'.

The dilemmas of counterfeiting eternal values for signs were revealed in the *Querelle des Anciens et Modernes*. The quarrel revolved around the ability of classical architectural language to respond to new historical demands. Francois Blondel believed in an absolute definition of beauty which remained the same regardless of historical context. Claude Perrault, however, believed that classical architectural language should adapt to new historical conditions. The philosophies of universality and mobility of signs were pitched against one another. Universal reason was in fact exemplified by the formal characteristics of Academy architecture as a language codified into a hierarchy of classical types illustrating an historical logic, the use of the 'parti' (a conceptual diagram of the organisation of the building) as a unifying construct linking selected typological decisions, and the need for the exterior to show the 'idea' of the parti. Architectural propositions should thus ideally be transparent to the reason of type and assembly, and form should thus become equivalent to idea and thence meaning.

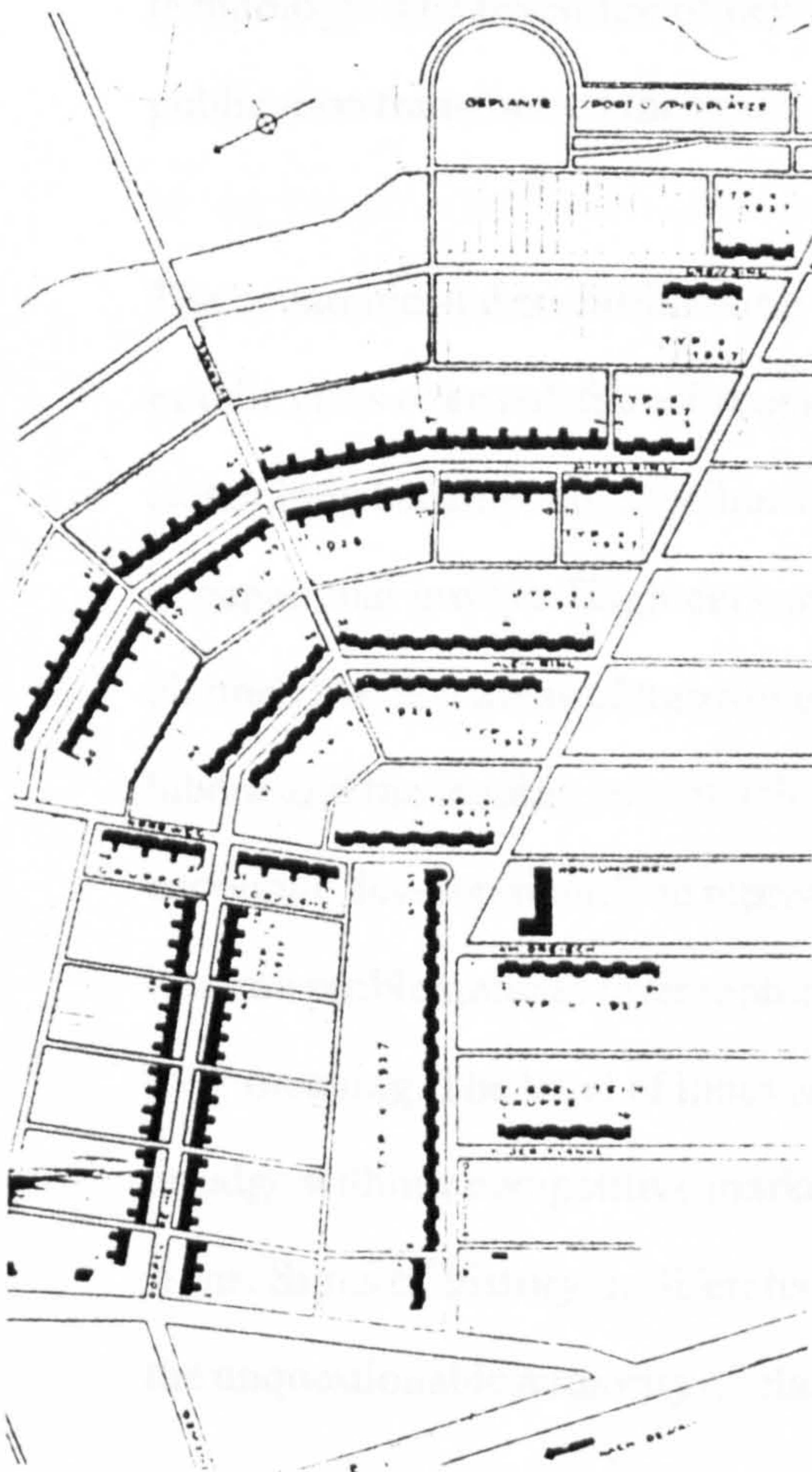
The definition of beauty was so important that whilst the careers of academicians relied on the demonstration of their competence to define it, the monarchy retained control over its ultimate expression. The monarch acted as patron of the intellectual debate of the Académie Royale d'Architecture and its practical realisation. The school trained architects specifically for work in the Royal Building Administration. Through the Royal Building Administration, the King exercised the final veto of the commissions through which the academicians could transform scholarship into practice. Through the edicts of the Academy he ensured that architectural signification obeyed the interests of the monarchy. No other

education led to royal commissions. The majority of graduates of the Académie Royale d'Architecture learned the practical skills of architecture within the Royal Building Administration and first encountered issues of cost and construction there. Technical knowledge was of insufficient significance to form part of the academic education process.

The production of Renaissance and Baroque building took place within systems of signification that separated the architect and the mason. This made architecture superior to building; it separated theory from practice and scholarly education from practical apprenticeship. The ideological function of architecture changed to reflect royal and aristocratic values centred on classical reason. The learning process and the self-representation of architects in the courtly sphere and within publication relied on a principle of reflection of aristocratic attributes. This provided architects with high embodied cultural capital, though this often symbolically compensated for actual economic hardship due to the loss of collective bargaining. This new identity of the architect as courtly intellectual could only be sustained for as long as the monarchy and aristocracy stayed in power. The division of intellectual labour, the emergence of architects from diverse classical backgrounds and the growing competition for commissions challenged the unity and homogeneity of the medieval guild. The Renaissance architect was a far more flexible figure than the mason before him and the professional after him.



Anonymous: "Minimal dwelling"



Walter Gropius: Dessau-Törten. Site plan. 1926

6.4. The Production Order

In a series objects become undefined simulacra one of the other. And so, along with the objects, do the men that produce them.

Jean Baudrillard

Simulations (1983, 97)

Whereas in the sixteenth century architecture began to separate into signification and construction, and into education and practice, by the nineteenth century architectural education itself divided into academies—dealing with signs of art—and the polytechnics—dealing with signs of technology. The invention of new technologies and the growth of publication transformed the practice, education and status of architects.

The economic and social standing of the architect was undermined as the middle class overtook the aristocracy and as architectural aesthetics and technology became reproducible and therefore freely available to other occupational groups. Engineers, surveyors, contractors and entrepreneurs claimed the new areas of knowledge generated by the industrial division of labour and the leading role of science (Hobsbawm 1962, 42-43) in economic development. The representational capacity of architectural signs became problematic as their reproducibility and mutability led to a loss of their meaning. The level of innovation necessary for the architect to maintain an edge within a competitive market destabilised the value of architectural signs. Signs of history proliferated in the 'Battle of the Styles'. The end of the unquestionable authority of classicism demonstrated the problematic

status of historical guarantors of architectural meaning hitherto underpinning the architect's claim to higher status. Permanent signs of history could no longer be associated with permanent cultural values.

As with history, so with nature. As industrial capitalism, and its transformation of the countryside, cities, buildings and their technologies, made the appeal to Arcadian nature or the natural laws of reason problematic, so the architect's formal vocabulary using 'signs of nature' also became increasingly implausible.

The expansion of the printing process exacerbated this condition. The number of architectural publications, both practical and scholarly, rose sharply from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, partially made possible by the industrialisation of paper production, printing type and distribution. Design and constructional knowledge became available to an interested patrons as well as the emerging new professionals within the construction industry. The combination of new wealth, new knowledge and more efficient means of mass-publication meant that at this point the signs of architecture could no longer even pretend to belong to the architect alone; instead they were released into the market.

The new mass-reproducibility of the text and image led to the printed page, rather than simply the drawing, increasingly becoming the origin and destination of architectural meaning and so the focus of new historical and moral conflicts. Architecture acquired an ideological double life—it acted in the increasingly separate realms of physical form and signification (i.e.

buildings and publications) with the latter in the ascendant through the new media of reproduction such as magazines, books and technical manuals.

The nature of clients also changed in the nineteenth century. The newly enfranchised middle classes acted as sources of new commissions and began to demand architectural services as a commodity whose usefulness and price was increasingly determined solely on the open market and not within the mirror-like relationship of the aristocratic patron and the retained architect. Architects had to compete for commissions, selling their talents within the marketplace to bourgeois clients neither interested in, nor economically able to support the retainership relation. Competition amongst architects created a pressure for constant aesthetic innovation, still confined to 'counterfeit' historical precedent, and for a unique feature that would distinguish the architect from the rest of other professionals in the construction industry.

Threat to commissions were also posed by engineers, surveyors and contractors. This took place against a background of professional expansion generally as a result of new areas of technical knowledge and resources made possible by scientific discoveries, imperial colonialism and industrialisation. Forty-two new professions had been established by the end of the nineteenth century. Competition led to a crisis both within and outside the academy. Throughout Europe and North America, architects tried to regain a unique identity and authority by a double-pronged counter-attack aimed at reintroducing a monopoly on the market through professionalisation and university education.

In Britain the architectural profession divided (Crinson 1994, 62-64) along the art/profession line from its very beginning. Those arguing for architecture as an art believed that professional associations were unnecessary but lost the argument in favour of those who wanted to protect the role and activities of the architect. The Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) was founded in 1834 and obtained its royal charter in 1837. Wishing to retain control of professional activity within the institute, its members successfully petitioned to prevent (Barrington Kaye 1965, 147) the independent registration of the architect's title for another hundred years. The membership of the RIBA continued to be relatively small for most of the century. In 1911 (147), only 25% of architects were RIBA members. Expansion of numbers was seen (148) as lowering standards of entry and many architects were distrustful of the business ethos that characterised many of the RIBA's founding members. Even those architects that saw architecture as a profession wished to differentiate themselves from their competitors in the construction industry. The architect, even if not an artist, was above 'mere' business. The Code of Conduct therefore eventually forbade the architect's interest in business, seen as interfering with impartiality and replaced it with beauty and morality.

In Britain new educational institutions emerged. This was, according to Perkin (Cook 1973, 74) 'a response to the demand by the expanding middle class for a university education, cheaper and more relevant to their needs than the ancient learning of Oxbridge'. The new universities were driven by the desire to professionalise; the majority were founded around medical

schools. The first school of architecture, the Architectural Association, was founded in 1847 as an evening school, by apprentices tired of the short-sightedness and business ethos of apprenticeship. University College London appointed its first professor of architecture in 1841.

In the French and German Academies, and at the Royal Academy in Britain education continued to focus on life drawing, the formal articulation of classical precedent, and a narrow range of building types. The retreat into a manipulation of signs of history and nature—the study of classical precedent and natural motifs—meant that in practice as well as in education, architecture in the Academies increased its separation from construction. Such narrowly-focused use of formal historical typology turned its back on the profusion of new technologies and building types generated by industrial capitalism. This became largely the responsibility of the engineer at a new class of educational institutions focusing on the teaching of technical knowledge—the Écoles Polytechniques and Technische Hochschulen of France, Germany and Austria-Hungary.

The French École Polytechnique exemplified the change in curriculum, student and pedagogy taking place in these new schools in response to the new culture of industrial production. The nature and purpose of the education of students at the École Polytechnique was quite different to that within the Academies. The knowledge base was derived largely from the military context, not the aristocratic and courtly context of the Académie Royale d'Architecture and focused mainly on scientific knowledge. The title *ingénieur* had first appeared (Benjamin 1972, 218) in France, emerging in

the 1790's, and was used to describe military officers trained in the art of siege and fortifications. Although the design of engineering works had formed part of the task of many Renaissance civil architects (Leonardo da Vinci is perhaps the most well-known), by the eighteenth century, in France at least, they were becoming a special sphere of commissions in the military sector, separate from architecture.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, engineers and architects were (Benjamin 1972, 215) definitely no longer one and the same person:

The Halle au Blé built in 1811 ... received its complicated construction out of iron and copper ... from the architect Belanger and the engineer Brunet. As far as we know, it is the first time that architect and engineer were no longer united in one person.

Students and their education process changed. Even when courses at the École Polytechnique were opened up to applicants outside the army, students were required, by Napoleonic decree, to live in barracks. Yet Polytechnique students were initially largely of aristocratic origin—a third came from a bourgeois background, and only 0.3% from the working class (Hobsbawm 1995a, 114). Numbers were small—between 1815 and 1830 only just over 1,500 had been trained there. The Écoles Polytechniques straddled (982) its military and civic functions by providing 'purely theoretical training with a series of applied courses, relevant to civil works, building construction, military fortifications, mining, even shipbuilding'.

The focus on applied knowledge was influential, spawning imitators elsewhere in Europe and the United States. The state and the professions combined to extend, protect and systematise (Hobsbawm 1995, 43) technical expert knowledge:

The American universities and technical academies ... were economically superior to the British ones because they actually provided a systematic education for engineers such as did not yet exist in the old country [where apprenticeship was the only route into the profession until 1898] ... They were superior to the French, because they mass-produced engineers of adequate level instead of producing a few superbly intelligent and well-educated ones.'

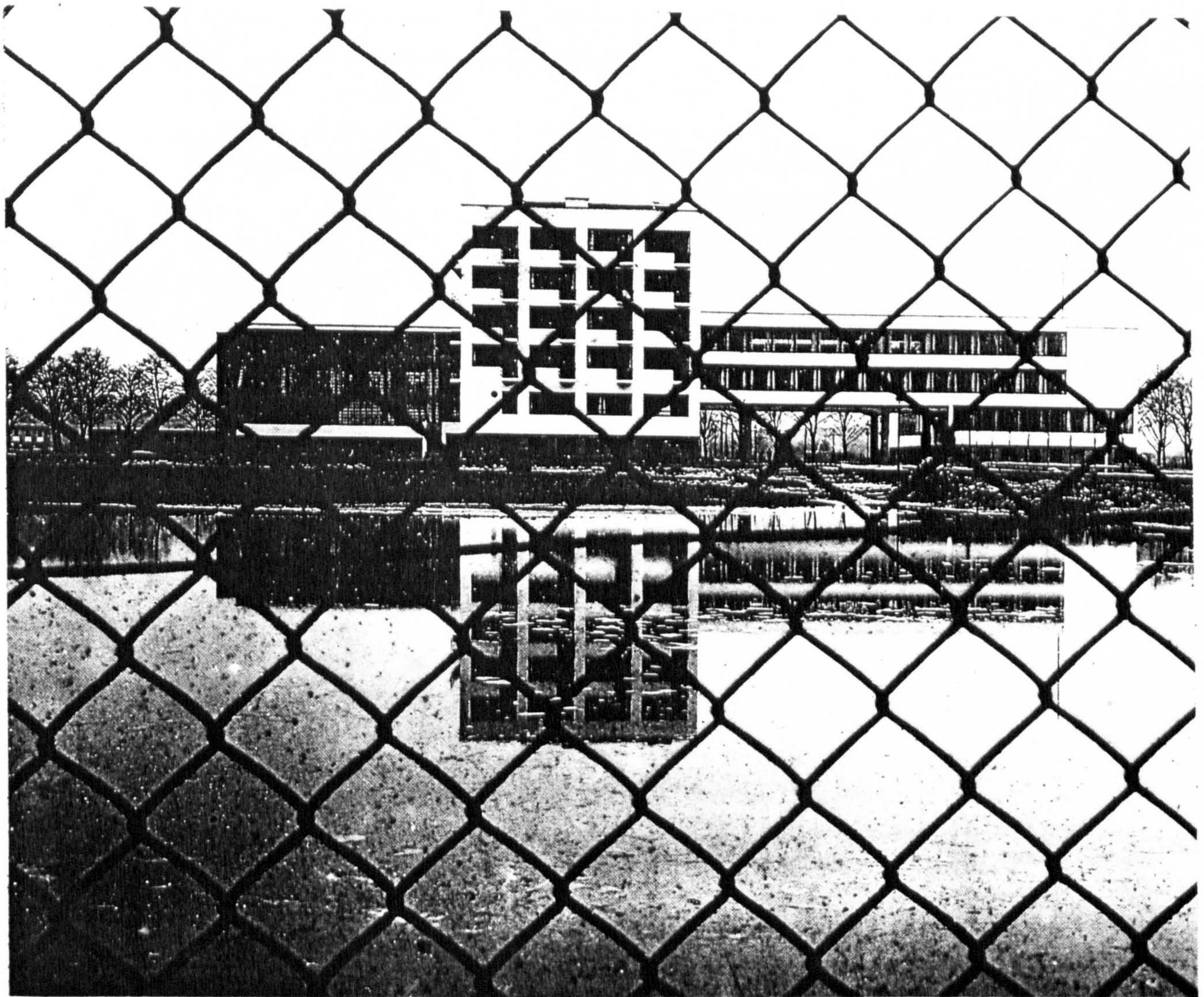
From the mid-century onwards advanced scientific knowledge fuelled technical invention. Research laboratories, attached to universities, became an essential part of industrial development and together with professionalisation, formed the second impetus to the expansion of university education. Knowledge acquired economic value.

Whilst the rise of science and engineering represented one response to the crisis of meaning, the other response consisted of a desire to reunite imagination and production. The resolution of the semantic crisis and the re-integration of production and signification into a new *Gesamtkunstwerk* of life became the task of new educational institutions. Schools of craft and design, including the *Kunstgewerbeschulen* in Germany and the Arts and Crafts schools in Britain, rejected the dominance of academicism and the

division of labour in architecture and turned to hitherto excluded production processes to point the way forward. They looked backwards to a Romantic unity of mind and body within the model of the medieval craftsman.

Design schools elevated the status of craft, which had suffered with the arrival of mechanised production, to that of an art. Through its revaluation they tried to engender a popular understanding for and a desire to consume design objects. Initially limited by lack of space for workshops and machinery in education, the ideological transformation of the popular consciousness was targeted in other, more public ways. Mid-nineteenth century World Exhibitions and museums of craft and industry were commercial and institutional expressions of the need to stimulate the consumption of commodity signs.

Educational reform in Britain, Germany and Austria embraced design as the integration of signification and production. The Secessionist architect, Josef Hoffmann, was one of the first to achieve a practical education in the crafts in the Vienna School of Arts and Crafts during the years of his leadership. Already in 1868, in the founding speech of the School of Art and Industry in Southern Germany the role of architecture as unifying discipline for other areas of craft and design was emphasised. Architectural education, hitherto divided into academic and technical strands and representation and practice, was reunited and presented as a model for the reintegration of signification and production. This anticipated the agenda of perhaps the most influential school of design and architecture in the twentieth century—the Bauhaus.



7.0 Bauhaus Dessau, undated

the Bauhaus is the collective work of art—the Building—in which no barriers exist between the structural and the decorative arts.”

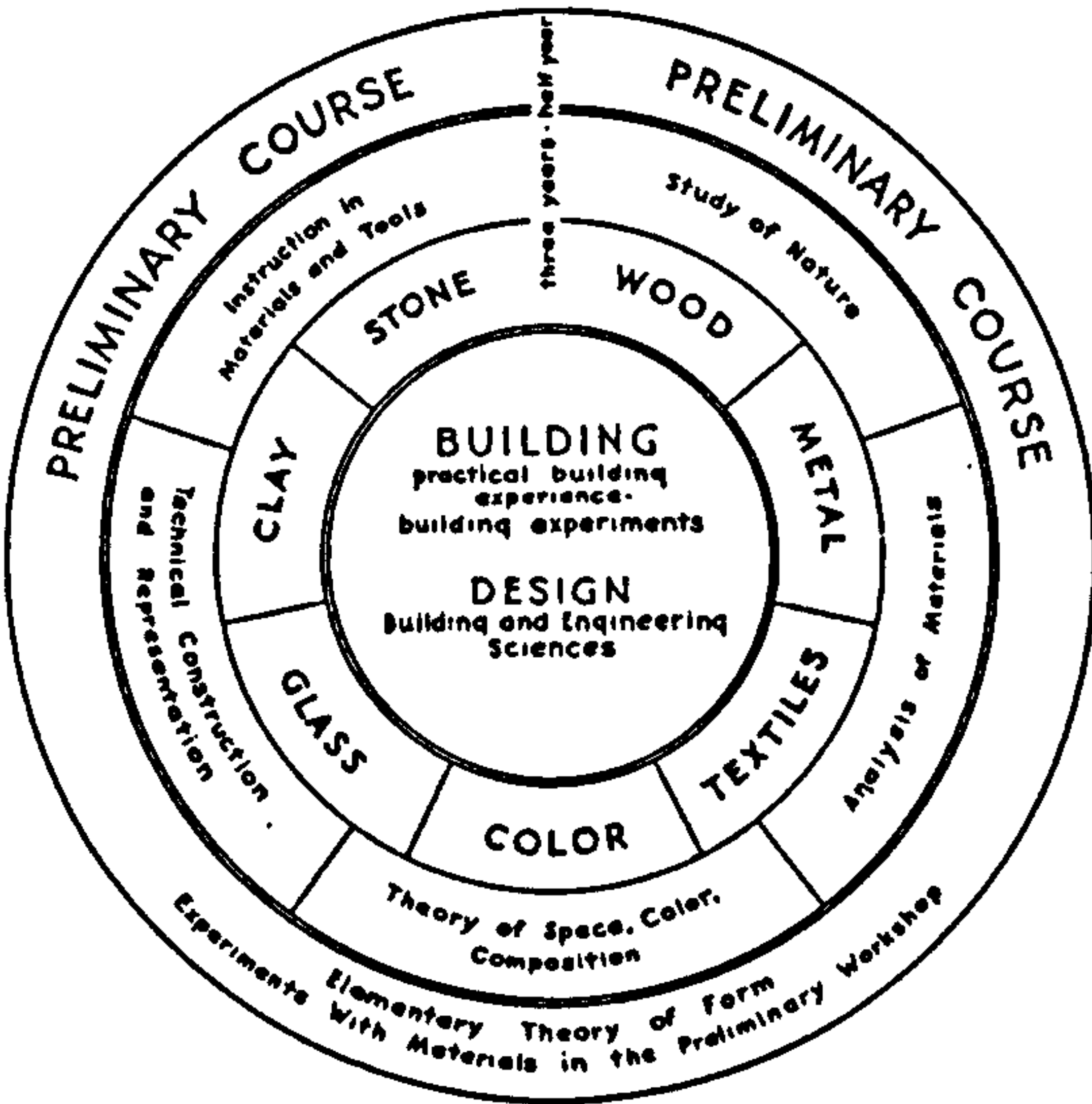
The guiding principle of the Bauhaus was therefore the idea of creating a new unity through the welding together of many “arts” and movements: a unity having its basis in Man himself and significant only as a living organism.

Human achievement depends on the proper coordination of all the creative faculties. It is not enough to school one or another of them separately: they must all be thoroughly trained at the same time. The character and scope of the Bauhaus teachings derive from the realization of this.

THE CURRICULUM

The course of instruction at the Bauhaus is divided into:

| | | | | | | |
|--|---|---------------------|------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------|
| I. Instruction in crafts (Werklehre): | | | | | | |
| STONE | WOOD | METAL | CLAY | GLASS | COLOR | TEXTILES |
| Sculpture workshop | Carpentry workshop | Metal workshop | Pottery workshop | Stained glass workshop | Wall-painting workshop | Weaving workshop |
| A. Instruction in materials and tools | | | | | | |
| B. Elements of book-keeping, estimating, contracting | | | | | | |
| II. Instruction in form problems (Formlehre): | | | | | | |
| 1. Observation | 2. Representation | 3. Composition | | | | |
| A. Study of nature | A. Descriptive geometry | A. Theory of space | | | | |
| B. Analysis of materials | B. Technique of construction | B. Theory of color | | | | |
| | C. Drawing of plans and building of models for all kinds of constructions | C. Theory of design | | | | |



7.1 Bauhaus curriculum, *Bauhaus 1919-1928*, 1975 ed., p. 23

7.1. Argument and Structure

The academies turned out an 'artistic proletariat' foredoomed to semi-starvation ... innocent of realities like technical progress and commercial demand.

Walter Gropius The New Architecture (Gropius 1937, 40)

The Bauhaus is perhaps the most well-known design school of the twentieth century. Its pivotal role in the history of architectural education and, following Baudrillard, in the culture of simulation, singles it out as the main testing ground for the theoretical framework of this dissertation. I argue that the Bauhaus' educational innovations were not only related to the invention and production of new objects but also to the creation and reproduction of new signs for reproduction and circulation through the media. These innovations were a response to the school's historical context—the traumatic aftermath of the First World War, the pressure for economic competition through design and the rapid emergence of global mass media—and are responsible for the school's historic reputation. Yet although the Bauhaus legacy lives on in design schools in the USA and Europe, I believe that many of the school's original ambitions remain unrealised and others have been over-emphasised.

I argue that the transitional position of the Bauhaus—between the symbolic order of a traditional political economy emphasising the mass-production of industrial objects and that of a new sign economy, privileging mass-

reproduction of images—was the result of a general destabilisation of the dominant political, economic and Oedipal fiction. I propose that this dominant fiction had a history (Baudrillard's semiology), a theory (Benjamin's Marxian psychoanalysis), an economy (Fordism and post-Fordism) and an ideology (patriarchal professionalism). I use these categories to structure the sequence of Chapters 8 to 11 and study the effect of these broader forces on teaching at the Bauhaus.

I use Walter Benjamin's view of history to structure the narrative sequence of the chapters. In my opinion, Walter Benjamin was able to develop his view of history (Benjamin 1968, 253-64) 'as a tale of catastrophe ... shot through with chips of Messianic time' because of his lived experience of the upheavals of Weimar Germany. The primary structure of these four chapters on the Bauhaus is therefore thematic and not temporally linear. Instead I inject the familiar Bauhaus historical narrative with overlooked parallel histories which, I later argue, have been marginalised because they threatened the dominant fiction. This structure later permits a selective telescoping of these issues at Bauhaus onto their present-day counterpart.

Each chapter focuses on one aspect of the Bauhaus dominant fiction. This chapter acts as the introduction. It sets out the traditional historical understanding necessary for the later critical examination of the Bauhaus. I begin with a brief history of the social, political and economic context of the Bauhaus in Weimar Germany, focusing respectively on the production of signification, dream-images, economy, ideology and the collective unconscious. I then outline a history of the Bauhaus itself. I suggest that the

Bauhaus went through five phases of activity, corresponding roughly to five periods of pedagogical, directorial and geographical change, including its partial reincarnation in the USA. I conclude with the history of the 1938 Bauhaus exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in New York which forms the main object through which I examine the Bauhaus in the remaining chapters.

The subsequent four chapters each examine an aspect of image reproduction at the Bauhaus.

In Chapter 8, *Laboratory of Signs*, I use Baudrillard's historical periodisation of sign production to suggest that the Bauhaus stood at the threshold between industrial production and today's information society. I argue that new mass-media provided the school with new teaching tools and contents. I use the 1938 exhibition catalogue to deny that the Bauhaus prioritised production over representation and argue instead that the main achievement of the school was to expand the production and reproduction of commodity signs. I argue that the *Deutsche Werkbund* and art school reformers of the pre-First-World-War period, responding to German economic and nationalist ambitions, provided the medieval educational model adopted at the Bauhaus and that the guild initially formed the main myth of origin legitimising the innovations at the Bauhaus.

In Chapter 9, *Dream House*, I apply Susan Buck-Morss' interpretations of Walter Benjamin's political psychoanalysis of architectural imagery to suggest that the first three phases of Bauhaus history consisted of the

production of dream-images, their transformation into dialectical images and finally their partial realisation in economic and social practices. I argue that this process began at the Bauhaus with the creation of dream-images using ur-historical representations of utopia, followed with their transformation into dialectical images using symbols of contemporary technology, which were then briefly translated into practical change in production and construction processes.

In Chapter 10, *Business*, I apply economic theories of Fordism and post-Fordism to Bauhaus history to explore the third phase—the Bauhaus' transformation of dialectical images into Fordist, and especially post-Fordist practices. I argue that external economic crisis, which reduced state financial support, forced the Bauhaus to seek funding through commercial operations and transform pedagogy into practice, thus conflating ideological superstructure of image reproduction and the base of actual prototype production. I suggest that the last phase of Bauhaus history, a retreat into the production of autonomous sign systems, occurred when production met with unfavourable external economic and political conditions after 1929.

In Chapter 11, *Brotherhood*, I examine the formation of ideological subjects, embodied cultural capital and the habitus through curricular and extra-curricular ritual at the Bauhaus. I use Silverman's theories to suggest that, in Weimar, the effects of war, defeat, the end of the Empire, economic collapse and physical privation, led to a particularly intense crisis in the dominant fiction, including that of masculinity. The ensuing re-evaluation of identity at the school successfully challenged the dominant fiction of class

but failed to permanently transform gender relations. I focus on Bauhaus construction of a new institutional habitus through the Bauhaus theatre workshop and in particular through Bauhaus festivals. I conclude that whereas the Bauhaus' restructuring of class operated in the economic and social interests of the emerging information society, its challenge to the unconscious authority of the Oedipal Order was untimely and could not be sustained.

I juxtapose the 1938 Bauhaus catalogue with two other main sources of evidence—the apparently trivial personal reminiscences of Bauhaus members and the documentation of economic and administrative activity at the Bauhaus. These sources identify the Bauhaus as more than a Baudrillardian research and development department for commodity capitalism. Whilst agreeing that publication rather than production formed the Bauhaus' high reputation in educational history, I show that the Bauhaus did, for a time, successfully explore a critical, political and practical educational models responding to the culture of simulation and that these provide important lessons for architectural pedagogy today.



7.2 John Heartfield, *The Sleeping Reichstag*, 1929

7.2. Historical Context: Weimar

... ninety percent of the unprecedented efforts made by all participants in this [the Bauhaus] undertaking went into countering national and local hostility ... and only ten percent remained for actual creative work.

Walter Gropius Bauhaus and Bauhaus People
(Neumann 1993, 16, my brackets)

The history of the Bauhaus is more or less synonymous with that of the Weimar Republic. The Bauhaus opened less than a year after the Emperor's resignation and the foundation of the Weimar Republic. It closed with the Republic's dissolution and the appointment of Hitler as Chancellor.

Beginning and ending in upheaval, the fourteen year history of the Weimar Republic was one of conflict and contradiction. The period has been called (Kaes 1994, xvii): '[a] laboratory for modernity ... a panoply of political, economic, and social models'. It stimulated many of the Bauhaus' educational ideas, yet also prevented their fulfilment.

Culturally, the Weimar period saw a rapid growth in mass-entertainment, avant-garde cultural activity and new media using agit-prop, realism, abstraction and escapism. Periods of economic catastrophe alternated with prosperity, confronting working class poverty with opportunistic speculation. Politically, the emergence and downfall of democracy led to major tensions between the left and right. Finally, war neurosis, loss of territory and mass-migration joined with the physical suffering of

unemployment, hunger and homelessness to challenge social identity at its most basic level. Mysticism, nationalism and racism formed just a few responses to such upheavals.

In the sub-sections that follow I establish some key historical events which set the context for the activities of the Bauhaus. The sequence of sub-sections follows the sequence of theoretical arguments laid out in Chapters 2 to 5. This allows me to connect the main theoretical issues of the dissertation to the broader historical context in inter-war Germany and thus anticipate the detailed application of the theoretical argument to the analysis of the Bauhaus in Chapters 8 to 10.



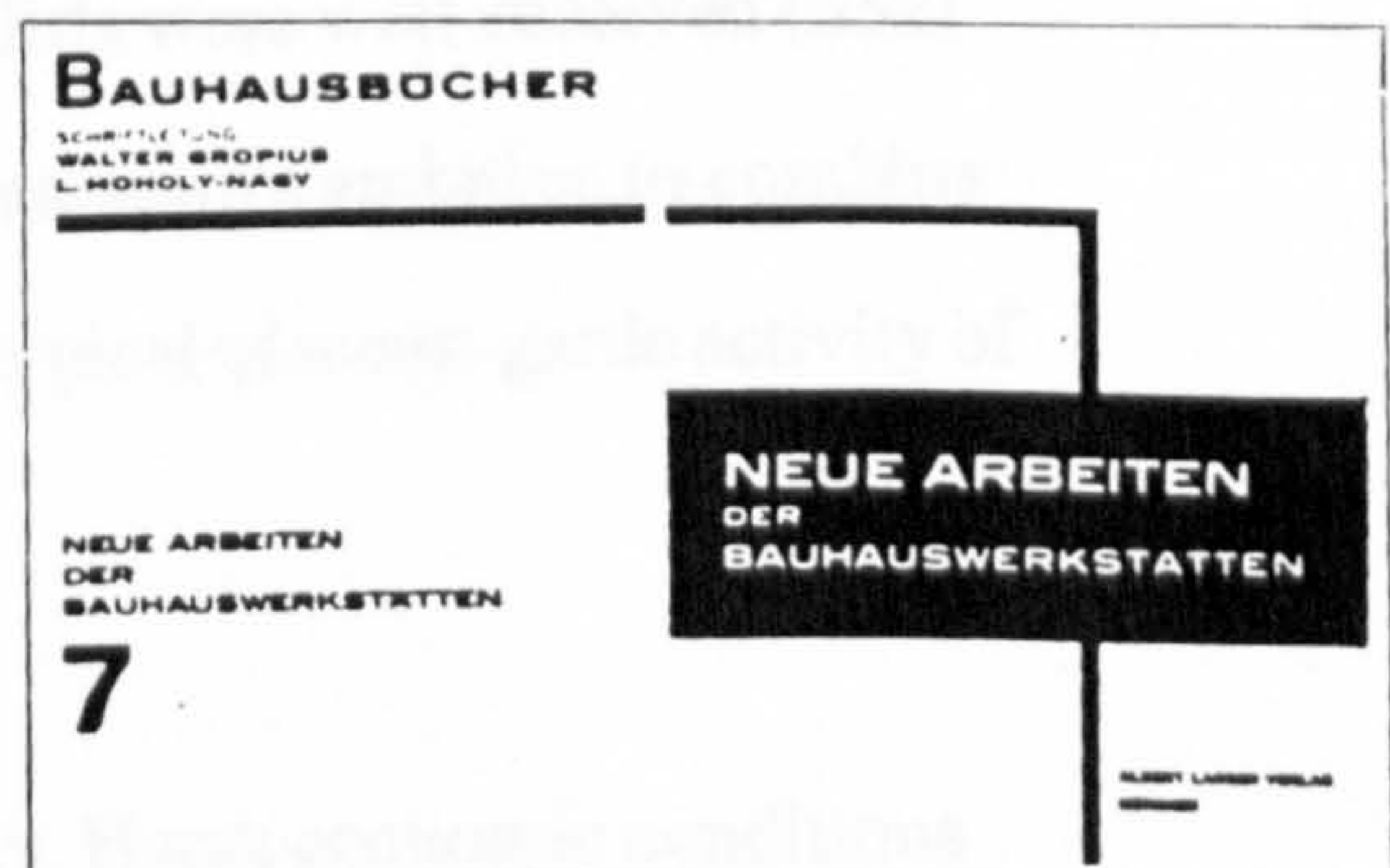
Herbert Bayer

146

oskar schlemmer: poster.
the triadic ballet.
lithograph



I. moholy-nagy: title
page. neue arbeiten der
bauhaus werkstätten.
1925



7.2.1. Historical Context: Signification

It is a question of a mutation of status. Before the Bauhaus there were, properly speaking, no objects ... For the object is not a thing, nor even a category; it is a status of meaning and a form.

Jean Baudrillard For A Critique of the Political Economy of the
Sign (1981, 185)

The history of the Weimar Republic was a period of economic and social upheaval. The collapse (Heiber 1993, 3) of imperial cultural traditions, emerging already during the First World War, opened the door, within major urban centres at least, to cultural experiments in the mass-entertainment industry and the avant-garde; both spheres eagerly adopted new media—film, photography and, later, radio. Berlin in particular became a centre of progressive art, music, literature and theatre, which focused on everyday life and working class culture. Brecht's *Threepenny Opera* opened to popular and critical acclaim (Kaes 1994, 569); Heartfield's photomontages appeared in the Berlin weekly newspaper (643), *Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung* and revues of the Tiller Girls were well-received (552) by intellectuals and workers alike. Walter Benjamin's ambition to combine intellectual activity and political action was typical of avant-garde activity of the period.

The entertainment industry expanded rapidly. Harsh economic conditions meant that cinema and sport (674) provided the most popular forms of

public entertainment and escape for workers too tired or dispirited for literature, music and opera. German films competed equally with epics emerging from Hollywood. Sports such as boxing were followed eagerly by the working class and the avant-garde. Radio and the popular press (594) provided domestic entertainment. Publishing expanded; by the mid 1920s the Weimar Republic was printing twice the books (508) of England or France. Berlin had forty-five morning papers and fourteen evening papers; some weeklies had a circulation of one million. Cheap photographic reproduction led to the rise of the photo-illustrated magazine, book clubs and door-to-door book sales. However, the proliferation of publications led to take-overs and centralisation through the formation of conservative press cartels, which made the eventual incorporation (Shirer 1968, 304-9) of the press by the National Socialists relatively easy. The massive and chaotic expansion of signification provided tremendous opportunities for visual and textual experiment, but also provided technical and cultural mechanisms for an unprecedented expansion of repressive, stereotypical political propaganda with which the National Socialist era continues to be associated.



herbert bayer: basic elements from which the universal type is built up: a few arcs, three angles, vertical and horizontal lines

herbert bayer: universal type. condensed bold. characters at base show medium and light weights

abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz
dd

2 variations: schmal halbfett schmal fett

abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz
a dd

herbert bayer: universal type. characters at base show bold, medium and light weights, 1925. improved, 1928

herbert bayer: research in the development of the universal type

nn

uu x

I. moholy-nagy: book jacket. 1924



josef albers: stencil letters. design based on three fundamental shapes. 1925

josef albers: stencil letters. basic elements from which the letters are built up. 1925

abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz
ff dd ffz

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ
HIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ

Geometrische Grundformen



Kombination einfacher Elemente

7.2.2. Historical Context: Dream Images

... for the first time in world history, mechanical reproduction emancipates the work of art from its parasitical dependence on ritual ... Instead of being based on ritual, it begins to be based on another practice—politics.

Walter Benjamin The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical
Reproduction (1968a, 224)

New, cheap communication media vastly extended the signifying process, allowing visual vocabulary to become a mass-phenomenon. In architecture, publicity and modernity were intertwined. The story of German architecture in the inter-War period is, as Barbara Miller Lane (1968) points out in *Architecture and Politics in Germany*, one of publication driving building production, with eventually disastrous results.

The modernisation of architecture and design in Germany was successfully fought on the pages of newspapers, pamphlets and other mass publications before it was ever put into practice. Miller Lane's writings repeatedly suggest that the high political profile of German modernism (within which, for her, Bauhaus held a pivotal role) was due to the early identification by architects, businessmen and politicians of the power of the mass-media. She highlights the importance of the new illustrated media in the construction of the new German identity.

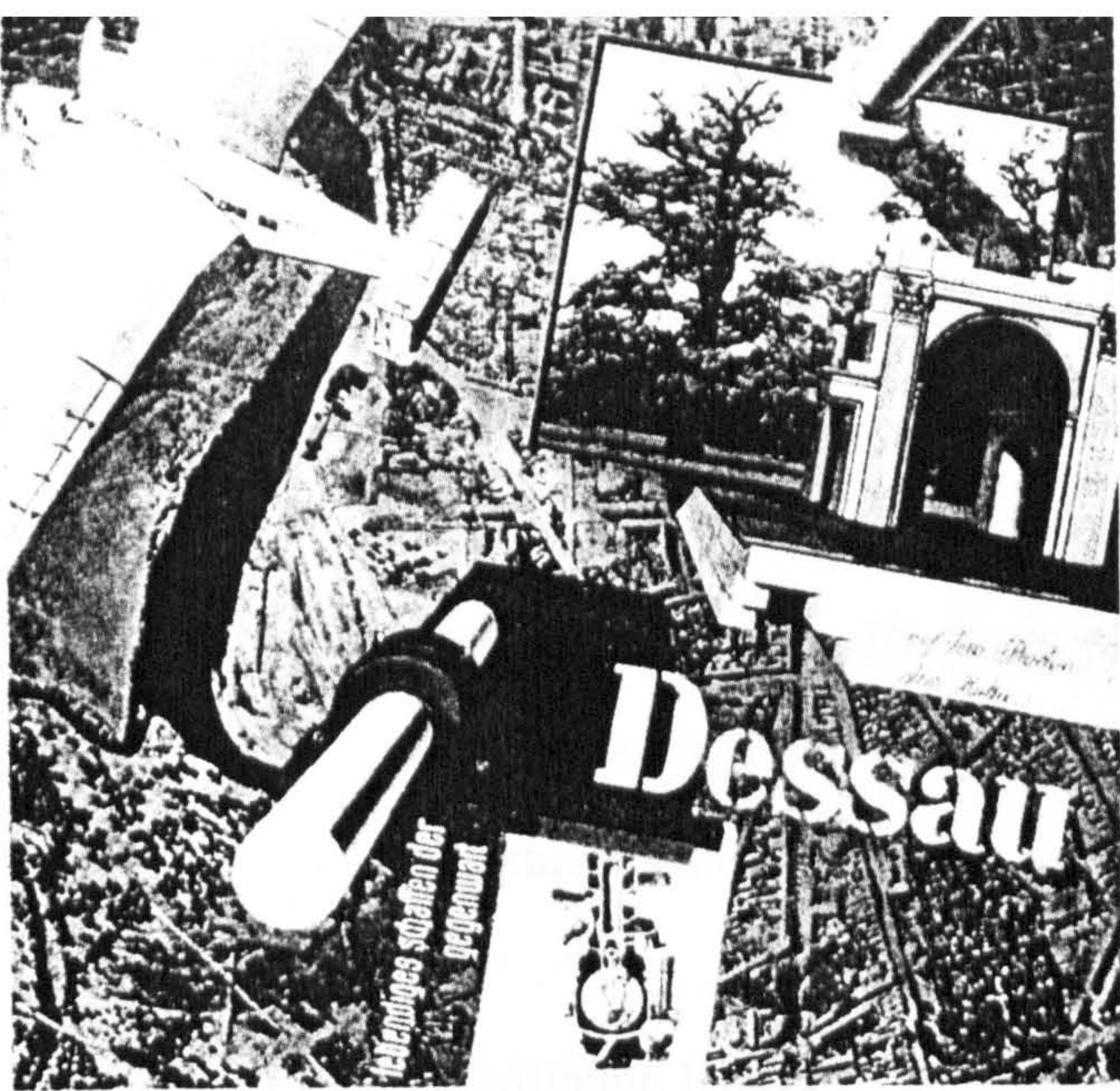
For Miller Lane, the politicisation of German culture sprang out of the pan-Germanic movement in the arts and in particular, from the Romantic literature of the nineteenth century. Through the neo-gothic poetry and drama of Goethe and Schiller, language was initially adopted as the symbol of German unity, linking culture to politics. Following German unification, the new nation used imagery to symbolise social cohesion. The writings of Moeller van den Bruck, Langbehn and Wagner linked German identity to the aesthetics of Romanticism and the Gothic revival. The Bauhaus later adoption of medieval ideals thus echoed earlier nationalist sentiment.

The foundation of the *Werkbund* exemplified the search for national identity through architecture and visual artefacts. The *Werkbund* tried to improve the nation's industrial culture through exhibitions and publications (Miller Lane, 27) popularising the work of its members. Already before the First World War *Werkbund* members—Behrens, Gropius, Taut and others—wrote of the need for a new style to raise the status of German commodities. After the War, especially during the inflation years when commissions were scarce, Gropius and Taut (44) produced an extraordinary volume of publications in support of the new architecture. Barbara Miller Lane (41) wrote:

For the first few years after the war, the economic situation prevented any large-scale building construction in Germany, and the men who were to become the leaders of the modern movement were forced to express themselves principally in writing.

Taut and Gropius in particular were active in the cultural construction of the new state through the press and so played a full part in the production of the political significance of architecture. Miller Lane writes (42-3) that following the First World War Germany 'saw a proliferation of art and architectural periodicals with cultural and social aims ... Most ... involved some notion of bringing art into greater contact with 'the people,' the belief that only modern art could perform this function'. Miller Lane adds that pressure came from writers and publishers to engage politicians in cultural regeneration: 'the demand that the new state devote its patronage to this end'.

Yet the politicisation of modern art and architecture through publicity was to return to haunt its creators. As modern art and architecture became associated with a progressive social programme, both were attacked by conservative politicians who in turn linked social stability to traditional art forms. The Bauhaus' main political struggle throughout its existence lay in defending itself against claims that it was producing Bolshevik art. The school's rebuttals, claiming that art and architecture lay outside politics, were to no avail because of the school's earlier dependence on the association between political modernity and architectural modernism.



Joost Schmidt: cover from
a prospectus advertising
Dessau. 1928

ADVANTAGES OF THE SMALL TOWN

Only those familiar with the cultural quality and importance of the provincial German town can understand why on two occasions a small town was chosen as the site of the Bauhaus. Germany has an unusually large number of small towns unique and inimitable in character. Thanks to their civic structure and their spiritual vitality, they provide an ideal environment for cultural movements which require strong personal direction and a favorable atmosphere. Comparatively simple administrative machinery; comparatively few authorities (whose decisions can be quickly carried out); a community whose various elements are clearly differentiated and defined—these are the advantages of the provincial city. Both in Weimar and in Dessau a fruitful working atmosphere, free from distraction, and the proximity of beautiful natural surroundings were indispensable factors in the lives of those who worked at the Bauhaus.



DESSAU. Mentioned for the first time in 1213. Since 1603 the seat of a line of the house of Anhalt. Important industrial town and transportation center: Junkers Works (all-metal airplanes), chemical industry, manufacture of machinery, railroad cars, wooden articles, chocolate, sugar. Renaissance palace, residence of the Dukes of Anhalt; small palaces and town houses in baroque and neo-classic styles. Near the town, at Wörlitz, are large 18th century parks in the English "Romantic" style.

7.2.3. Historical Context: Economy

Spring of 1919: revolution, runaway inflation, soup kitchens, and housing shortages. For the students at the Munich Institute of Technology, there were lectures on Renaissance Palaces, courses in Gothic arch construction, and exercises in drawing Greek mouldings'.

Ferdinand Kramer Bauhaus and Bauhaus People
(Neumann 1993, 79)

The economic situation of the emergent Weimar republic was one of crisis. US pressure during the Treaty of Versailles, which ended the First World War, led to the Allies' demanding huge reparation payments. France had wanted an annual reparations total equivalent to 33% of German national income (Felix 1971, 12). Britain took an even more extreme position. Lloyd-George (Czernin 1964, 52) asserted that: 'We have an absolute right to demand the whole cost of the war from Germany'. Although Germany did not end up paying such colossal sums, her reparation payments were nevertheless crippling and unrealistic, from which (Felix 1971, 38) she never recovered:

The United States had forced the reparation policy on the Allies by demanding repayment of \$11 billion in war loans ... The allied statesmen did not see how they could get the money out of their war-weakened economies ... Their only resource, whether real or imaginary, was the reparation claim on Germany.

The high cost of servicing reparation debts, essential imports, state subsidies, compensation to German individuals and companies for war losses and the renewed, though illicit building up of military strength led the German government to borrow from itself. It had to create wealth out of nothing, through complex internal loan structures and a vast increase in printed money, neither backed by the gold standard. These strategies led to hyper-inflation and a catastrophic devaluation of the mark. Having been the most successful pre-War economy in Europe, the Weimar Republic could not feed its population for the first five years of its existence. Although taxation increased, hyper-inflation meant that the state could not fully fund basic services such as housing, social welfare and education; nor could it pay its employees, including those at the Bauhaus, adequate wages.

The Gold mark was introduced as an index against which the diminishing value of the mark could be measured in the inflation years from 1922 to 1924. Erich Lissner, a Bauhaus student, wrote in 1923 (Neumann 1993,110) that:

Gold mark times code number gave you the exchange rate for your money, and we had to figure on it literally changing every hour as a result of the inflation.

Whilst hyper-inflation made German products more competitive abroad and paid off much of the war debt by 1924, it devastated the economic base of the working and middle classes (Felix 1971, 27 and 33-34) and led to right

and left wing political extremism. The strength of the Communist party in particular emerged from the despair of the unemployed. 85% of the membership in the slump years (Weber 1969, 243) were out of work. Economic privation exacerbated war trauma and placed ethical and social behaviour under severe pressure; crime escalated. Speculators (Kaes 1994, 60) made fortunes buying cheap stocks in the hyper-inflation years; at the same time blue- and white-collar workers lived in near-starvation.

The German economy began to prosper again in the six years between 1924 and 1929. US loans introduced through the Dawes plan in 1924 allowed Germany (Felix 1971, 184) to repay a further significant part of the reparations bill. Late in 1923 printed money backed by fixed assets such as industrial and agricultural property (the Rentenmark) was introduced for transactions between the state and the business sector. The Rentenmark introduced some stability into the fiscal system and laid the ground for the relatively stable Reichsmark which replaced it and the Gold mark in 1924. The German economy caught up and then surpassed pre-war production levels. Of particular significance to the Bauhaus, state and municipal building construction increased. Major municipalities, having acquired cheap land, material and construction companies during the hyper-inflation years began to build social housing and provided finance for the formation of housing associations. Investment in private construction also increased.

By 1928 the German economy seemed secure and architects were once again busy. Architects like Bruno Taut spearheaded the housing programme; Gropius' private office had numerous public and private

commissions during this period. Economic and cultural internationalism characterised the period between 1924 and 1929; in architecture it was represented by the emergence of the International Style. Economic dependence on the USA coincided with interest in American economic principles. German industry eagerly took up Fordism and Taylorism. The first Ford car rolled off the production line (Kaes 1994, 394) in Germany in 1924. Taylorist principles of scientific management led to the reorganisation of business and the creation of a new, largely female, white-collar class.

However, through the Dawes Plan, the USA indirectly controlled European finance and directly underpinned the German economy. This proved to be Germany's downfall. When the US economy collapsed in 1929 following the Wall Street crash (Hobsbawm 1994, 93), so did Europe, with Germany most seriously affected: 'at the worst period of the slump (1932-33) ... no less than 44 per cent of the German workers were out of a job'. Although reparation payments finally halted in 1932, economic crisis and political divisions made the promises of the National Socialists attractive. The return to nationalist economic, social and cultural policy paralleled the new global protectionism. In its fifteen years, the Weimar Republic had known five years of economic growth, ten years of privation and little or no economic autonomy.

PAUL KLEE

GERHARD MARCKS

LYONEL FEININGER

JOHANNES ITTEN

OSKAR SCHLEMMER

WASSILY KANDINSKY

GEORG MUCHE



LOTHAR SCHREYER



LASZLO MOHOLY-NAGY

7.2.4. Historical Context: Dominant Fiction

The Bauhaus dedication to the design of modern culture should be assigned no party-political dimension, even in politically turbulent times.

Bauhaus brochure (general, 1931)

With economic upheaval came social upheaval. German generals had gained few concessions (Heiber 1993, 11) in the armistice agreement with the Allies. The agreement eliminated the German army, hitherto the backbone of the Reich, created a French occupation army in the Rhine area and presented, as a *fait accompli*, the principles of the reparations payments. The armistice agreement finally destroyed the credibility of the monarchy, aristocracy and the Prussian administration, already destabilised by the war. The crisis culminated in the November Revolution and led to the proclamation of the Weimar Republic; the Emperor (9) resigned shortly after. Nine months later the Treaty of Versailles ratified Germany's losses of territory in France, Poland, Denmark, Lithuania and Belgium. It made Germany bear responsibility for the War and formally confirmed (35-42) the colossal levels of the reparations bill agreed in the armistice agreement. The new republic ended its first year in a climate of poverty, despair and enforced guilt.

Yet, despite its origins in social upheaval, the assembly of the new Weimar Republic was initially politically moderate; extremism came later. The

Republic had emerged in a period of political confusion — no particular party (Kaes 1994, 35-36) formed a majority. The Empire was discredited; the alternative — the socialist state of the Russian Revolution — left many Germans suspicious. The vociferous Spartacus movement (in effect the Communist party of Germany), having been most active in provoking the November Revolution, was a small and short-lived organisation. It became a symbol of the fear, rather than of the effectiveness, of Bolshevism in Germany. Its leaders, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, were assassinated in January 1919, a few days before the new Weimar Constitution was proclaimed. Its counterpart on the political right was the equally vociferous and small German National People's Party, which supported the monarchy, racial purity and nationalism. There were numerous other nationalist parties, although these were individually too small to make a political impact in the new Weimar Assembly. The main political groups in the Assembly were centrists, consisting of the Social Democrats, the Catholic Centre Party and the German People's Party.

Centrist politics had grown out of pre-War centralising tendencies, further consolidated (Reich 1938, 22) by concessions won by labour in the First World War:

When the Government found it necessary to mobilise all available manpower and passed the Auxiliary Service Act of 1916, which put practically the entire civilian working population on a war basis, organised labour won significant concessions

In addition (21) 'the military authorities put pressure upon employers to negotiate with the representatives of trade unions by favouring with war orders employers who were ready to deal with labour on a collective basis'. Workers' councils based on Russian soviets developed out of the social contract necessitated by wartime relations between labour and the state. These included the Works Council for Art which replaced the *Deutsche Werkbund* and had Gropius as a member. Other organisations linking skilled workers resembled medieval guilds and had pre-war origins. Unlike the work councils, they were not associated with socialist, revolutionary tendencies and were supported by the middle-class and centrist politicians.

However, centrist politics did not last. The Social Democrats had called on, and received the support of the Army in the November Revolution. This decision lost them credibility with voters. The Weimar constitution (Kaes 1994, 46-51) had been hurriedly put together and many of its articles were problematic, with eventually disastrous consequences for moderate political parties. Proportional representation led to a proliferation of small parties and, as parties on the extreme left and right held the balance of power, the political spectrum polarised. This made the Weimar republic into a laboratory for political and cultural experiments; it also prevented permanent political stability, eventually leading to the republic's disintegration. The National Socialists later took advantage of the other constitutional error—the President's emergency powers to bypass the Constitution—to appoint Hitler as Chancellor.

The provincial town of Weimar was chosen for the declaration of the new constitution because Berlin was too strongly associated the administration of the Prussian authoritarian state and the political situation in the city in 1918 was still too unstable. Instead, the National Assembly met in a town associated with (Miller Lane 1968, 70-1) the German cultural tradition of Goethe, Schiller and academic painting:

Weimar was physically dominated by the legacy of the ducal past; and its complex of parks, gardens, and palaces made it one of the most charming of Germany's historic towns. Weimar's attachment to traditional art forms ... was powerfully enhanced by the presence of the ducal art academy. The academy, established in 1860, had achieved an impressive national reputation by the beginning of the twentieth century ... Weimar was thus known in Germany for its handsome neoclassical architecture, important school of academic painting, and associations with a sacred literary tradition. Its civic pride depended to a large extent on these associations with the past.

At Weimar the presence of the National Assembly became an immediate problem. Apart from exacerbating the city's housing shortage, it forced progressive national, regional and metropolitan politics on the conservative local administration. The Weimar City Council (Droste 1993, 48) consisted of 'monarchical civil servants, discharged military, pensioners and Grand-Ducal officials who had been adopted into the new Government'. Like the local press, it was provincial and nationalist in its outlook, afraid of Bolshevism, intellectualism, racial diversity and cultural change. The

conflict between local and regional administration at Weimar was finally won by the conservatives. For the Bauhaus, the political situation in Weimar was problematic from the beginning and the pattern of victorious conservative politics was repeated again in Dessau and Berlin. The tension between municipal and national politics shaped the historical context of the Bauhaus and led to a recurring cycle of experiment and repression, watched by a succession of progressive and reactionary political masters.

Social upheaval was also exacerbated by the physical and psychological effects of the War. The War left (Kaes 1994, 5) two million Germans dead and a further four million physically or psychologically disabled. Politicians and intellectuals acknowledged the psychological devastation. Ernst Simmel (7-8) described the effects of wartime traumas:

Whatever in a person's experience is too powerful or horrible for his conscious mind to grasp and work through filters down to the unconscious levels of his psyche. There it lies like a mine, waiting to explode the entire psychic structure.

War shattered Germany's dominant fiction. The resultant ideological vacuum led to the intensification of political and cultural activity by the most extreme elements of German society. Loosening social relations from an imperial past, it also elevated an uncritical faith in charismatic leadership, nationalism, mysticism, bodily discipline and displays of male bonding exemplified by (6) the military *Freikorps*. The rise of nationalism relied on the creation of a racist and an anti-Semitic 'other'. There were (330) some

seventy-five nationalist organisations in the Weimar Republic, which advocated racial and cultural purity. These were more strongly represented in the conservative provinces than in progressive larger cities. Even some of the left-wing parties had anti-foreign immigration clauses. Racism, represented by philosophers such as Kayserling, associated (355) the material desires of modern, mass society with 'Negro' laziness.

The Jewish race became the clearest object of derision. Large numbers of Jews (248) had fled from Russia and Poland to Germany to escape persecution after the war. The public perception of these unassimilated new arrivals and of others who had taken part in the November Revolution (who were regarded as traitors), made the Jewish population into a symbolic threat to German identity. State institutions like the Bauhaus, funded by administrations comprising nationalist parties were constantly asked to provide statistics to justify their nationalism and racial purity.

Nationalism allied with mysticism: theosophists, anthroposophists, nudists, Zoroastrians, Buddhists and vegetarians (Hitler was one of the latter) celebrated bodily discipline, venerating tradition, spiritual and racial purity, nature, brotherhood, masculinity and motherhood. Societies pursuing esoteric religions proliferated, paralleling the growth of mysticism in other cultural activities such as music, theatre and art (331):

As the 1931 appeal for a nationalist theatre by the former expressionist playwright Arnolt Bronnen demonstrates, the desire for a mythic and cultic rather than a rational public sphere was very strong. The

nineteenth-century composer Richard Wagner's celebrated call for the renewal of German culture through the restitution of an irrational festival of communal de-individuation found its echo in Weimar and its realisation in the Nazi spectacles of the 1930s.

A cult of the body became popular. The psychological exhaustion of the German collective psyche was countered through gymnastics, diet, hygiene, sunbathing and, most effectively, through (675) organised sport:

Sports and a new sense of the body (*Körpersinn*) re-energized German life by the mid-1920s, and even a cursory glance at the illustrated press finds numerous examples of people depicted in various forms of motion such as jumping, running, flying through the air, dancing, and doing gymnastics.

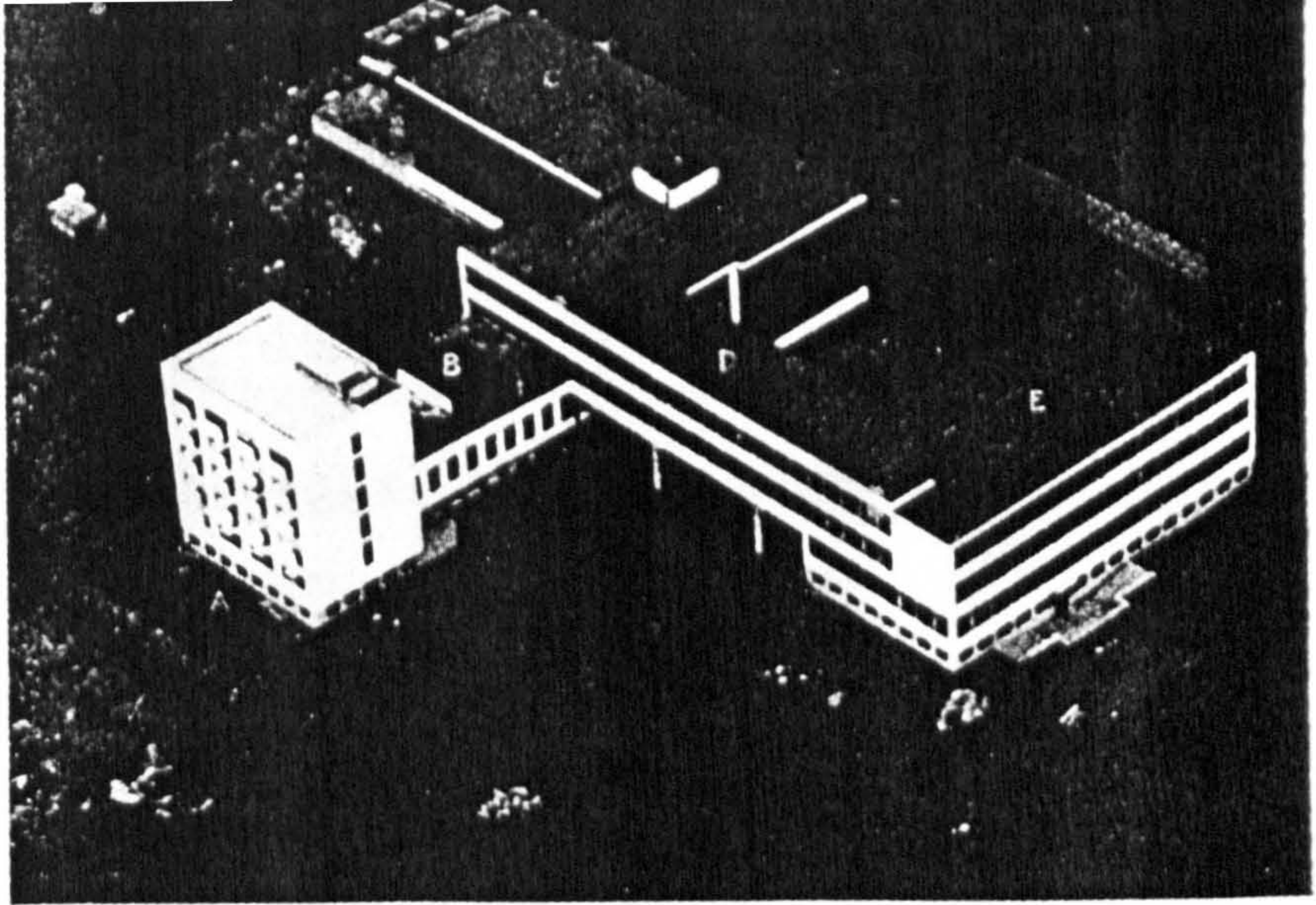
However, the crisis of the dominant fiction also challenged traditional gender divisions, sexually and politically liberating women. Women had entered the workplace and higher education in large numbers during the First World War, forming numerous women's organisations. The Weimar Constitution (195) introduced universal suffrage. One hundred and eleven women were elected to the new assembly. By 1925 (694) '11.5 million women—more than a third of the total labor force—worked for a living'. Elsa Herrmann claimed (196) that the new Weimar woman lived 'for the present and according to her own desires'. Women married later if at all, and open marriages increased. Outwardly at least, gender roles and

appearances were in flux. As elsewhere in Europe, women began to wear men's clothing, bob their hair and lead social lives independent of men.

Yet women's control of their bodies, pleasures and social roles was not only partial but also impermanent. The Weimar legal code prohibited abortion; the German penal code made lesbianism (and homosexuality) illegal. Women formed the majority of white collar workers, but on average were paid ten to fifteen percent less than men. Many of them lived at home, often sharing a room with parents and siblings (218). As the post-1929 economic crisis deepened, they became a threat to male employment and status. The National Socialists introduced financial incentives for childbearing; disillusioned with employment, many women returned to the domestic sphere. By 1933 many women's organisations had dissolved (196) and women began to join right wing parties in the hope of finding fulfilment in traditional roles.

The Weimar Republic was an extreme manifestation of general European instability. In the fracturing of the old imperial order, the effects of war, economic and social crisis led to an intense re-evaluation of culture and human behaviour. The new technologies of mass-communication made art, architecture and education of particular interest to state and industry as instruments of a new consciousness. In the disintegration of the old order and the anticipatory fragments of a new one, economic, social and cultural contradictions flared up, becoming visible for the first time. Such moments of awakening made experiments of the Bauhaus prophetic of the cultural condition we inhabit today.

Walter Gropius: Dessau
Bauhaus. Air view.
1925–1926



A characteristic building of the Renaissance or Baroque has a symmetrical façade, with the entrance on the central axis. The view offered to the spectator as he draws near is flat and two-dimensional. A building expressing the modern spirit rejects symmetry and the frontispiece façade. One must walk around this structure in order to understand the three-dimensional character of its form and the function of its parts.

**Plan of the Bauhaus:
Ground Floor**

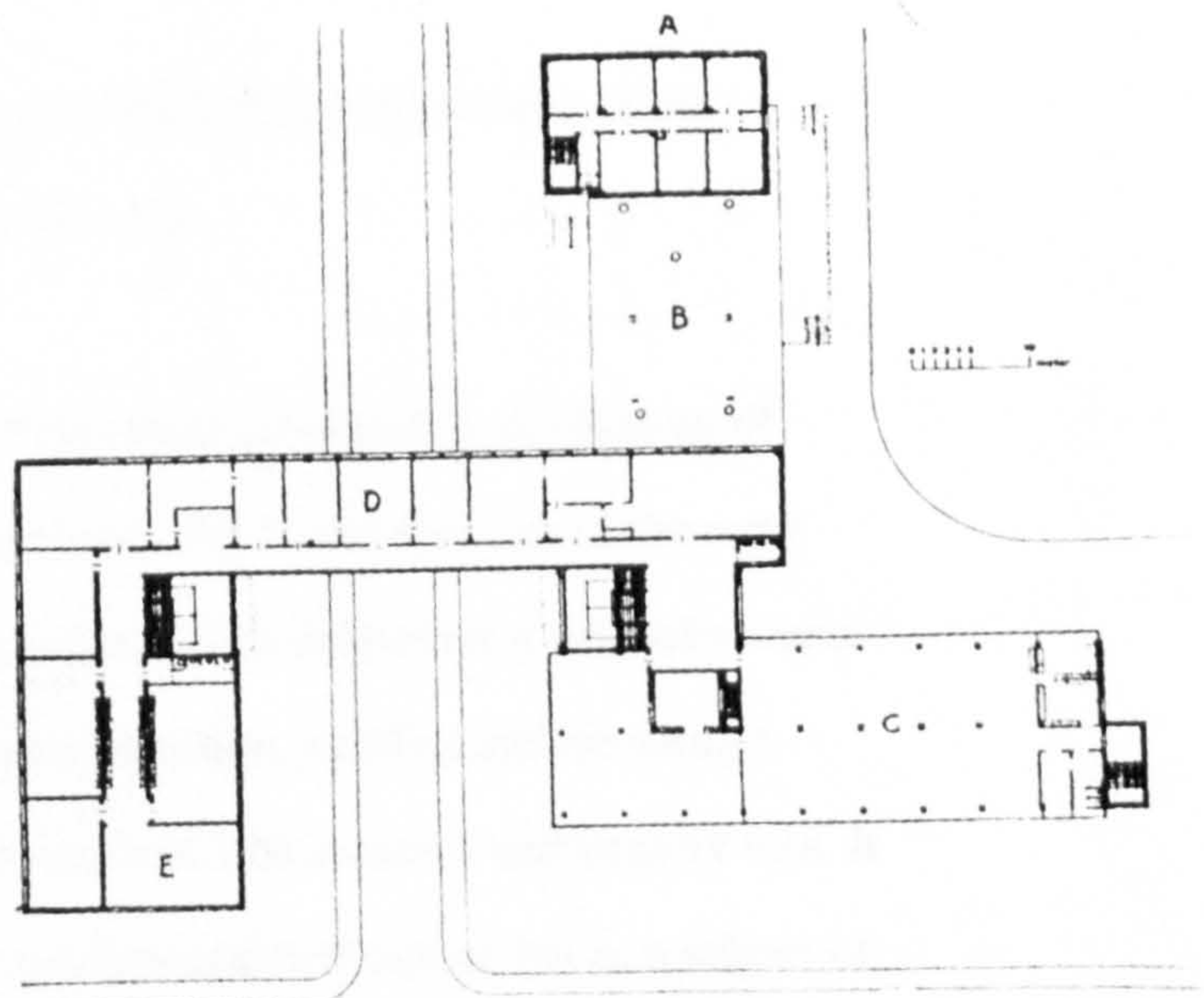
Considerations to be kept in mind in organizing a plan:

proper orientation to the sun

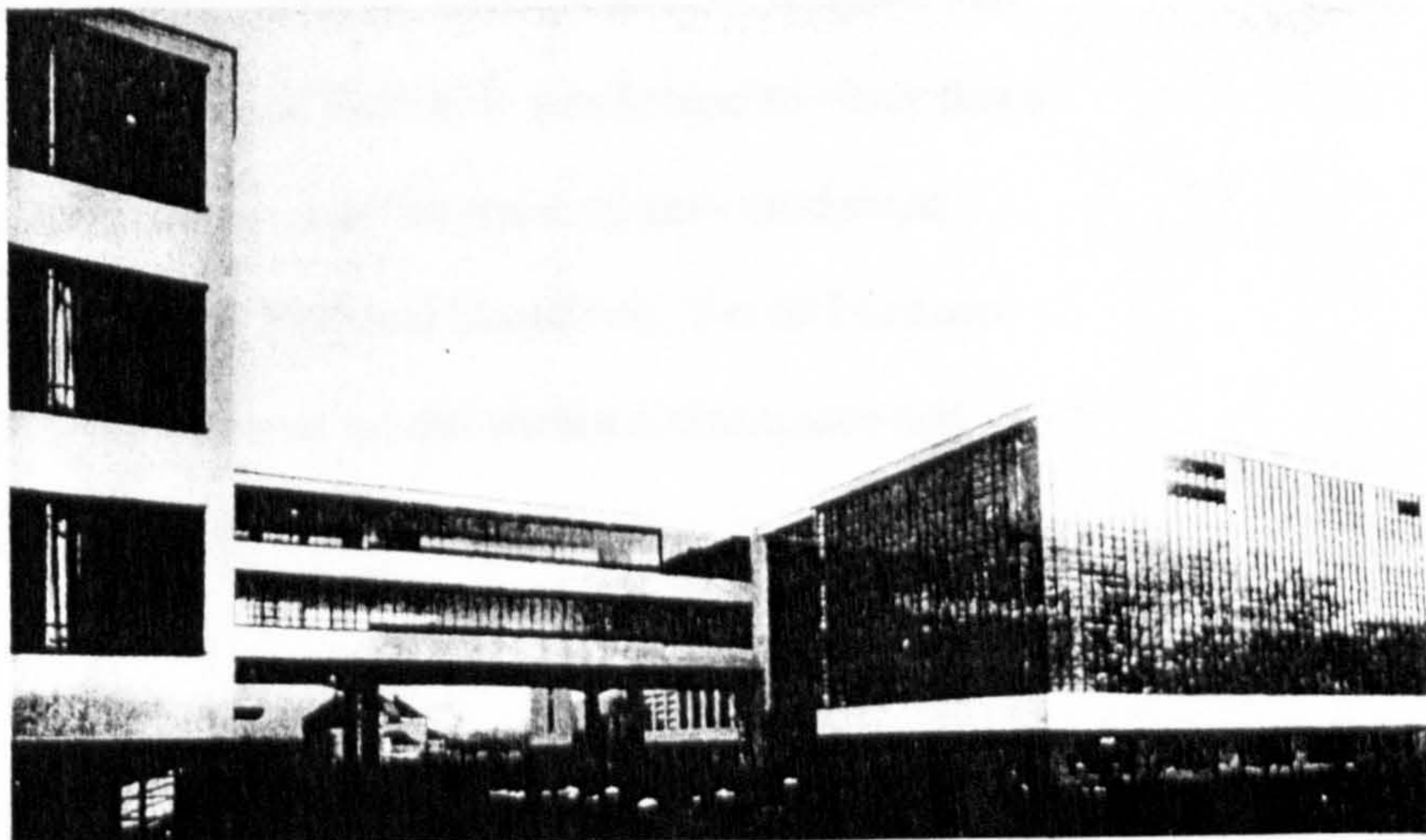
short, time-saving communication

clean-cut separation of the different parts of the whole
flexibility, making possible a reassignment of room-uses, if organizational changes make this necessary.

- A Studio wing
- B Auditorium, stage and dining-hall
- C Laboratory workshop
- D Bridge (administration offices)
- E Technical school
(from Bibl. no. 27)



Walter Gropius: Dessau
Bauhaus. View from south-
west. 1925–1926



7.3. The School

It is the Bauhaus that institutes this universal semanticization of the environment in which everything becomes the object of a calculus of function and of signification ... Or again from another angle: the Bauhaus tries to reconcile the social and technical infrastructure installed by the industrial revolution with the superstructure of forms and meanings.

Jean Baudrillard For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign (1981, 185-86)

The Bauhaus has become the most important landmark in the history of twentieth-century architectural education. Yet it was also one of the most short-lived, lasting for only fourteen years. The school experienced several transformations of pedagogy, physical location, staffing and economic support. It never at any time had more than 120 students and usually less. It was not founded as a specifically architectural institution, but as a school of design. It was a small organisation, housed, in sequence, at Weimar and Dessau (in the German provinces) and Berlin. It was forced to close three times and by 1933 had closed for good in the wave of anti-modernist sentiment accompanying the rise of National Socialism. Yet its fourteen years established it as a key educational model within architecture and design, with subsequent near-mythical status.

The history of the Bauhaus, like that of Weimar Germany, was complex and contradictory. The geographical location of the Bauhaus (Weimar, Dessau and Berlin) set the immediate political and economic context of key phases in the school's activities. It did not, however, account for all the shifts in its pedagogy. Other influences, combining the endeavours of individual personalities at the Bauhaus with broader cultural, political and economic developments affected the school's activities. I have therefore adjusted the three periods corresponding to geographical location through the theoretical foci of chapters 2 to 6 and combined these with the periodisations of two Bauhaus historians, Friedhelm Kröll (Kröll 1974) and Wolf Herzogenrath (Herzogenrath 1978). The combination of all these factors most accurately represent, in my view, the phases of external and internal pressures for change in Bauhaus teaching.

The history of the Bauhaus was defined by a succession of geographical contexts—Weimar (1919-1925), Dessau (1925-1932) and Berlin (1932-1933) in Germany, and then, from 1937, the United States. Changes in location in turn affected the school's funding, public perception and capacity to effect educational change. The Weimar period, from 1919 to 1924, was one of extreme political and financial instability, of strong regional but weak municipal support. The centre-left political composition of the regional Thuringian government provided Bauhaus funds until the right-wing swing in the elections of 1924. The local administration and, more importantly, the conservative local population and press, attacked the school from the beginning.

The Dessau period, from 1925 to 1932, began with local municipal and commercial support. The Bauhaus' good relations with Dessau's larger businesses like I-G Farben and the engineering and aircraft concern Junkers represented, for a time, the union of state and industry. As late as 1932 a group of Bauhaus students carried out (Droste 1993, 216) the planning of an estate for Junkers. Yet in Dessau right-wing pressures too cut the school's funds and led to its exodus to Berlin. The Berlin period, lasting only one year, only deferred the final closure of the school until 1933.

Kröll divides Bauhaus history into three phases, describing the development of its ideas: the founding phase (1919—1923), the consolidation phase (1923—1928) and the disintegration phase (1928—1933). He associates the first two phases with Gropius' directorship and the beginning of disintegration with Meyer's leadership. Although he derives these phases largely from internal changes in personality and teaching philosophy, in my view they also correspond to changes in economic and social conditions in Weimar Germany. The first phase represents the immediate post-First-World-War period of economic and social turmoil, hyper-inflation, hunger and poverty. The second mirrors, for the most part, renewed economic stability and an international outlook. The third represents the return of economic and political crisis after the Wall Street Crash. The majority of Bauhaus historians, following Gropius, associate the third era with the beginning of the end of the Bauhaus but fail to discuss the role of the re-emergent economic and political crisis. I argue that although Gropius' and Mies' agreement that the Meyer phase was one of disintegration supported Kröll's view, its narrow, personality-based focus needs to be questioned.

I have also used Herzogenrath's periodisation (Herzogenrath 1978, 19-32) because his focus on style can be related to phases of the production of commodity signs and dream-images, and his emphasis on personality can be related to the formation of collective psychology and ideology. However, Herzogenrath divides Kroll's founding phase into an expressionist one (the teaching of Itten) and a formalist one (the teaching of Klee). I have chosen to subsume these two phases within a single period because both were concerned with the production of dream-images only, necessitated by the inflationary economy. Herzogenrath continues with a functionalist phase from 1923 until 1928 (associated with Gropius), an analytical, Marxist one until 1930 (associated with Meyer) and an aesthetic phase under Mies.

I therefore divide the history of the Bauhaus into five phases. The first phase, 1919—1923, was one of belief in individualistic creativity, formal experiment, enactment of mystical ritual, gender role inversion, an emphasis on medieval guild organisation and craft,. It was also a period of local political animosity and extreme financial hardship. It was associated with the *Vorkurs* (or preliminary course) taught by Johannes Itten, strongly influenced by Romanticism and its aesthetic of medievalism, individualism and expressionism. Later the influence of Kandinsky, Klee and van Doesburg led to greater emphasis on experiments in primary geometrical form and colour. Institutionally the school existed as a hybrid, with the old Academy professors still on the staff until 1921, when, following local protest, a separate Academy was reinstated. This inward-looking phase ended with the 1923 exhibition, when economic and political pressure from

the Thuringian administration forced the school to publicly address industrial production. Gropius' famous phrase 'art and technology: the new unity' which he coined for the exhibition represented an important change in Bauhaus ideology.

The severe financial cutbacks to the Bauhaus budget, a result of the political swing to the right in the Thuringian elections of 1924, resulted in the school's departure from Weimar. Gropius wooed a number of new potential patrons and, at the invitation of Mayor Fritz Hesse, the Bauhaus moved to Dessau in Saxony-Anhalt. The second phase, 1924—1928, was for the most part an era of relative economic and political stability and expansion of the school's business activity. The Bauhaus became an Institute of Design, in a new building with improved workshop facilities, and formed an autonomous business organisation to market and sell its designs, with a proto- post-Fordist production structure. Josef Albers and Laszlo Moholy-Nagy arrived as the leaders of the *Vorkurs*, joined by Oskar Schlemmer as master of the theatre workshop. Herbert Bayer took over as the master of the typography workshop. This phase placed increasing emphasis on the aesthetics of mass-production and the media of reproduction. The advertising workshop was introduced. Functionalism began to replace expressionist and formalist exploration, although formal exercises remained an integral part of the preliminary course and workshop study. Gender experiments more or less ceased.

During these two phases, under the leadership of Walter Gropius, the school produced the majority of the publicity material used in the 1938

catalogue. During the second phase in particular it established a publishing programme consisting of Bauhaus books, magazines, prospecti and exhibition catalogues. The school's public presence was further extended by exhibitions of work at trade fairs and performances by the Bauhaus theatre and orchestra.

In 1928, Gropius resigned and handed over the directorship to Hannes Meyer. The Meyer era, 1928—1930, formed the third, least-documented part of Bauhaus history yet it is associated with the Bauhaus' most ambitious practical achievements. The architecture department was finally founded and immediately began to work on real commissions. Production and sales of licences for mass-production of Bauhaus products rose. The school's emphasis shifted further towards the rational and technical, with emphasis on functional design for mass-consumption. Political activity by students increased. The school granted its first diplomas and students designed (and built) their first buildings. Teaching rejected the idea of style and emphasised objective, scientific design method. It focused on the standardisation of design for production, rationalisation of production technologies and the politicisation of practice through the construction of buildings for the state.

The fourth period coincided with renewed economic crisis and the rise of National Socialism. Meyer was asked to resign and was replaced in 1930 by Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, seen as politically more moderate. Internal political activity was actively suppressed and commercial activity dramatically reduced. Teaching returned to formalism. Finally, the regional government closed the

school down in 1932. The Bauhaus briefly moved to Berlin, where in 1933 it was wound down.

These first four phases structure my examination of emblematic moments of Bauhaus history in later chapters. The fifth phase, 1933 — 1938, represented the beginning of the second life of the Bauhaus. From 1933 the Bauhaus became a portable media phenomenon, relying on exhibitions and publications for its reputation. Albers, Bayer, Gropius, and Moholy-Nagy published books and articles abroad—mainly in the UK and USA—and other Bauhaus masters followed. This phase culminated in the 1938 Bauhaus exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in New York which, building on the Bauhaus reputation built up through publication, brought the work of the school to the attention of the American public. The 1938 exhibition solidified the Bauhaus' international reputation. The widely disseminated catalogue in particular provides the vantage point from which I view the four preceding phases of Bauhaus history in the next four chapters.

The Meyer and van der Rohe phases of the Bauhaus have generally received less attention than the two phases of the Gropius era. Unlike Gropius and his disciples, Meyer emigrated to the Soviet Union and did not have access to, or indeed interest in, publishing organisations which would proclaim the significance and record the history of his period of leadership at the school. He was not interested in publicity in general, and personal publicity in particular. There was also open enmity between Gropius and Meyer; the former held the latter fully responsible for the downfall of the Bauhaus and accorded little space to Meyer's contributions in his own publications.

Mies had been offered the directorship by Gropius in 1928 and had turned down the job, wishing to continue in practice. In 1930 he became a reluctant caretaker in difficult times, steering a diplomatic path with local Dessau politicians whilst still pursuing an independent and successful career as an architect. Politically and personally, it was not in his interest to increase the visibility, political activity or design and construction output of the Bauhaus.

The structure of the Bauhaus curriculum remained relatively unchanged over the fourteen years of its lifetime. It consisted of the *Vorkurs* (preliminary course), followed by the craft workshops and eventually (in 1927) study in the building department. The *Vorkurs*, formally introduced by Gropius in 1921, initially lasted half a year and was extended in the third phase to be one year long. Gropius described it as consisting (Bayer 1975, 24) of two related areas of study: 'elementary instruction in the problems of form and practical experiments with different materials in the workshops for beginners'. The *Vorkurs* could be taken independently and was therefore used to select students for subsequent years of study.

Having passed the *Vorkurs*, the student enrolled in one of a number of workshops. The exact number varied throughout the history of the Bauhaus. The Workshop stage lasting three years was, like the *Vorkurs*, divided into two related parts: Form Instruction (*Formlehre*) and Craft Instruction (*Werklehre*). Form Instruction was divided into three areas: Observation, Representation and Composition. Observation consisted of

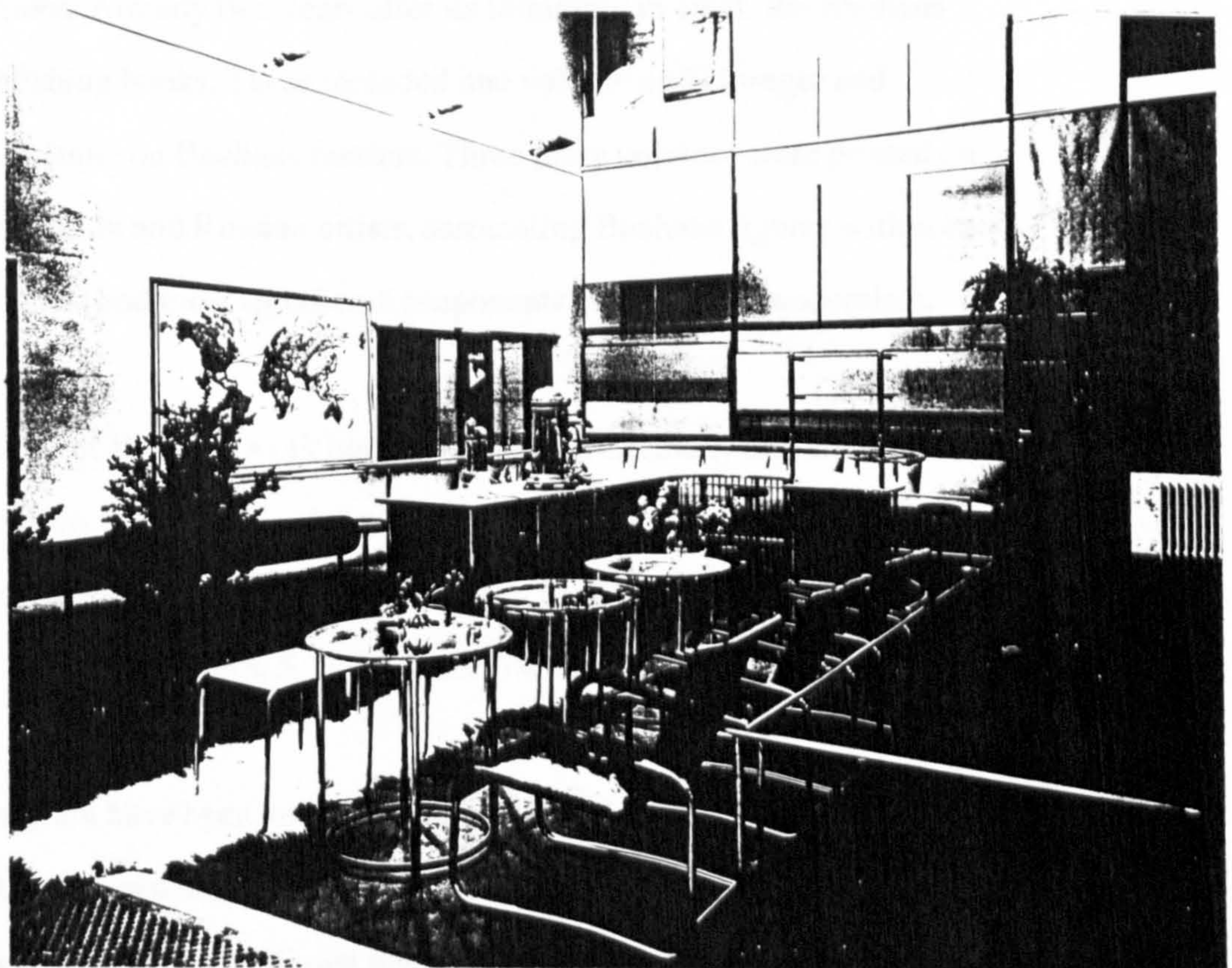
formal studies of nature and materials. Representation covered descriptive geometry, techniques of construction and the production of plans and models. Composition included theory of space, colour and design.

Craft Instruction was divided into practical knowledge and practical experience: instruction in materials, tools, book-keeping, estimating and contracting on one hand, and practical work in the various craft workshops on the other. In the workshop the student was legally apprenticed to the craft master, through the apprenticeship conditions of the relevant guild. In the workshops there were initially two areas of expertise (Form and Craft) represented by the two independent workshop masters—a technically qualified craft master (expert in technique) and an artist (expert in form) whose distinct skills the student was expected to internalise and integrate. The function of the workshops and the two masters was to unite these two areas. After 1924, when the school had produced its first workshop graduates, the roles of the craftsman and artist were combined in a single teacher. Workshop training led to qualification as a journeyman after three years (reduced to two-and-a-half years in the third phase); the student's practical knowledge was therefore certified through the examinations of the relevant guild. Theoretical knowledge was incorporated informally at first and later systematised.

The final stage of the Bauhaus course consisted of instruction in Building. This final phase was seen as an élite one, only for the most gifted students. The Bauhaus' subsequent reputation as a school of architecture derived from Gropius' elevation, in the school's founding manifesto (Bayer 1975,

16), of architecture as the symbolic pinnacle and practical destination of all the other teaching content of the whole curriculum. In practice, however, the architecture course did not begin properly until 1927.

The brevity of the Bauhaus experiment and the apparent clarity of its teaching structure initially make the school an easy object of historical analysis. The Bauhaus' determination to reject the autonomy and aestheticism of the academies (which preceded, accompanied and survived it) implies its commitment to actual architectural practice as the fulcrum of education. At first glance the Bauhaus stands as a perfect example of the resistance that education could offer to the implosion of architecture into simulation and the autonomous manipulation of signs. Yet not only was the Bauhaus unable in the long term to escape this condition but it accelerated the process.



7.4 Bauhaus installation of a café and social space at the *Exposition de la société des artistes décorateurs*, Paris 1930

7.4. Bauhaus Exhibition 1938

Are this book, then, and the exhibition that supplements it, merely a belated wreath laid upon the tomb of brave events, important in their day but now of primarily historical interest? Emphatically, no! The Bauhaus is not dead; it lives and grows through the men who made it, both teachers and students, through their designs, their books, their methods, their principles, their philosophies of art and education.

Alfred Barr 'Preface' Bauhaus 1919-1929 (Bayer 1975, 5)

The reputation of the Bauhaus was closely tied to its exhibitions and publications. Already two years after its founding, in 1921, the Bauhaus was publishing books. These included one volume on Feininger and another volume on Bauhaus masters. Three more volumes were printed on German, Italian and Russian artists, associating Bauhaus figures with some of the earliest and most significant proponents of European modernism.

Exhibitions of Bauhaus work had taken place in Germany and elsewhere, and had been well publicised from 1923 onwards. In his introduction to the catalogue of the 1938 Bauhaus exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art, Alfred Barr (Bayer 1938, 5, Barr's italics) wrote:

It may not have been until after the great Bauhaus exhibition of 1923 that reports reached America of a new kind of art school in Germany where famous expressionist painters such as Kandinsky were

combining forces with craftsmen and industrial designers under the general direction of the architect, Gropius. A little later we began to see some of the Bauhaus books, notably Schlemmer's amazing volume on the theatre and Moholy-Nagy's *Malerei, Photographie, Film*.

The Bauhaus' public visibility was, at the beginning at least, not entirely of its own choosing. A small exhibition of the work of apprentices and journeymen took place in 1922 but the first public exhibition occurred in 1923. It was forced on the school by a Thuringian administration wishing to see the products of its financial support and was not a great political success. It did, however, find an appreciative audience outside Weimar and abroad and confirmed the power of exhibitions in public relations. From then on the school embarked on a lively commercial and artistic exhibition programme. Exhibitions in the following five years continued at various international venues including Leipzig, Berlin, Paris and Basle. Alfred Barr writes (5) about the period from 1928 onwards:

During this time Bauhaus material, typography, paintings, prints, theatre, art, architecture, industrial objects, had been included in American exhibitions, though nowhere so importantly as in the Paris Salon des Artistes Décorateurs of 1930. There the whole German section was arranged under the direction of Gropius. ... And the rest of the world began to accept the Bauhaus.

One exhibition, however, ensured the Bauhaus' entry into the history books. The 1938 exhibition of Bauhaus work in the Museum of Modern Art

in New York, titled *Bauhaus 1919 - 1928*, marked a new era in the school's history. The exhibition represented the beginning of a second life for the Bauhaus, many of whose staff had moved to the USA. In particular, the arrival of Gropius (and his extensive archive) at Harvard in 1937 and his appointment as the Chairman of the Harvard Graduate School in 1938, stimulated the interest in a Bauhaus retrospective. Dean Joseph Hudnut's membership of the MoMA Architecture Committee (ill. 12.0) was probably also instrumental in making the 1938 exhibition a practical possibility..

In September 1937, Herbert Bayer, László Moholy-Nagy and Xanti Schawinsky met at Gropius' summerhouse at Marion, Massachusetts to discuss the statutes of the New Bauhaus, newly founded in Chicago, and to respond to an invitation by the Museum of Modern Art in New York (MoMA) to organise an exhibition of the German Bauhaus. Gropius had been approached by MoMA and together with Bayer had discussed the idea with John McAndrew, Curator of Architecture and Industrial Art, and Alexander Dornier, recently appointed as Director of the Museum of Modern Art. Herbert Bayer was commissioned with the organisation and design of the exhibition, as well as the preparation of a catalogue.

Gropius and Bayer tried to persuade Mies van der Rohe to contribute his archive and works to the exhibition for the 1930-33 era of the school. They were not successful; one can only speculate that Mies did not wish to reawaken the controversies that had accompanied his Bauhaus leadership in Europe at a time when he was establishing a new career in the USA. As far as is known, Gropius and Bayer made no attempt to contact Hannes Meyer.

This may have been because of the antagonism which had developed between Gropius and Meyer and the difficulty of reaching the latter in his new homeland, the USSR. The exhibition was therefore titled Bauhaus 1919-1928. Most of the political controversy and practical innovation of the Bauhaus that took place in the five missing years was not presented. As a result the Bauhaus became associated with educational agenda of Walter Gropius.

Bayer returned to Germany to collect material for the exhibition before his final emigration to the USA. Problems with obtaining exhibits in difficult political times in Germany delayed his arrival in the USA. Many works remained in Europe and were not recorded.

The exhibition opened on Tuesday evening, 6 December 1938 in the Rockefeller Center in New York, where the Museum of Modern Art was temporarily housed. The opening was extremely well attended. In a later letter to Itten, Gropius wrote (Gropius 1939) that 'in numbers of exhibition visitors, the likes of which we are not used to in Europe'. The December Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art, dedicated entirely to the exhibition (ill. 9.1) stated that the opening (McAndrew, 1938) 'was so crowded that it was difficult to get a fair impression of the show. Attendance records for the temporary quarters in the Rockefeller Centre were broken.'

The reviews in the press were mixed. MoMA welcomed the publicity, reprinting good and bad notices in the Bulletin. The New York Times wrote (McAndrew 1938) that 'the survey is chaotic ... disorganised promiscuity

... the organisers might have conducted us (without recourse to that cheap sidewalk device of footprints painted on the floor).' The Herald Tribune, in contrast, hailed the exhibition a success (McAndrew 1938): 'The Museum has never better demonstrated its function as a laboratory for the analysis of latter-day experimentation.' Likewise, public reception varied. Letters to the New York Times (McAndrew 1938) called the exhibition 'a final danse macabre' and 'the finest thing in existence'. Gropius himself enjoyed the controversy; a few months later he wrote to Itten (Gropius 1939) that the reception of the exhibition had been 'as in Europe, partly for, partly against, but left nobody indifferent and led to strong disagreements.'

The 1938 exhibition was accompanied by a substantial catalogue. As with the exhibition itself, the catalogue was to become a landmark document. One of the first Bauhaus publications in the English tongue, it formed the first 'official' history of the Bauhaus written for an international readership and remains an important document of Bauhaus activity. It was reprinted in 1952, 1955 (German edition), 1959, 1972 and 1975, with minimal modifications to the original after the first printing, and remains the principal document through which the Bauhaus is known today. The important role of the exhibition catalogue in forming the public identity of the Bauhaus makes it the key document through which I study the ideological role of image reproduction at the Bauhaus.

The 1975 reprint was the first to be published as a paperback, reflecting the growth of popular interest in the Bauhaus. I have chosen the 1975 reprint in preference to the 1938 original because it attempted to reach a broader public

and because it represented, through its almost faithful reproduction of the original, the successful embalming of the Bauhaus image by succeeding generations of readers. It is also the principal historical document of the dissertation because the exhibition was one of the first instances of the products of an educational institution gaining an international reputation through exhibition and publication and the decision to reprint in paperback to a wider audience in 1975 is one of the main indicators of this strategy's success. It represents the true beginning of an 'international style' for architectural education, establishing the images of exhibition and publication as the currency of its cultural capital within the global marketplace.

However, through this embalming, the Bauhaus corpus has also been condemned to eternal youth, presenting an idealised image beyond which it is difficult to probe. This has prevented critical analysis of the school's ideological role as an institution reproducing the dominant fiction of state and industry. It has deflected attention away from the mechanisms through which the reputation of the school has been uncritically reproduced.

Consequently, its media status and its influence on contemporary architectural education also remains largely unexamined, although authors such as Miller-Lane (1968) and Whitford (1984) provide important historical information that allow a critical analysis to take place.

The 1938 catalogue was filled with photographs and drawings of Bauhaus work, portraits of its key figures and images of its buildings. It was mainly a visual document; its typography and the high aesthetic quality of its

photographs (though not of the printing) cumulatively created a coherent and compelling picture of the Bauhaus years.

The catalogue began with an introduction by Alfred H. Barr, then Director of the Museum of Modern Art. It was followed by a brief history of the school, a two-page biographical note on Gropius and the key text—Gropius' 'The Theory and Organisation of the Bauhaus'. The subsequent texts were brief, focusing on the specific aims of each course and gradual transformations in teaching philosophies. The catalogue closed with several lists: short biographies of key Bauhaus figures, a bibliography of Bauhaus publications from 1919 to 1958, and a list of authors' work illustrated in the catalogue.

The texts, objects, drawings and buildings represented in the catalogue, carefully photographed throughout the Bauhaus years, had been archived and transported to the New World. Indeed, the wealth and quality of material included suggests that the recording of work and events formed a key activity at the Bauhaus. Gropius and his wife Ise, together with Bayer acting as the project editors, were a source of much of the material, selecting images and text from Gropius' extensive archive. Herbert Bayer, who had arrived at the Bauhaus in 1921 as a student, and subsequently became the master of the typography workshop, was therefore very familiar with the school's history and publications. He became not only the catalogue's designer but also its chief author and the main organiser of the exhibition itself.

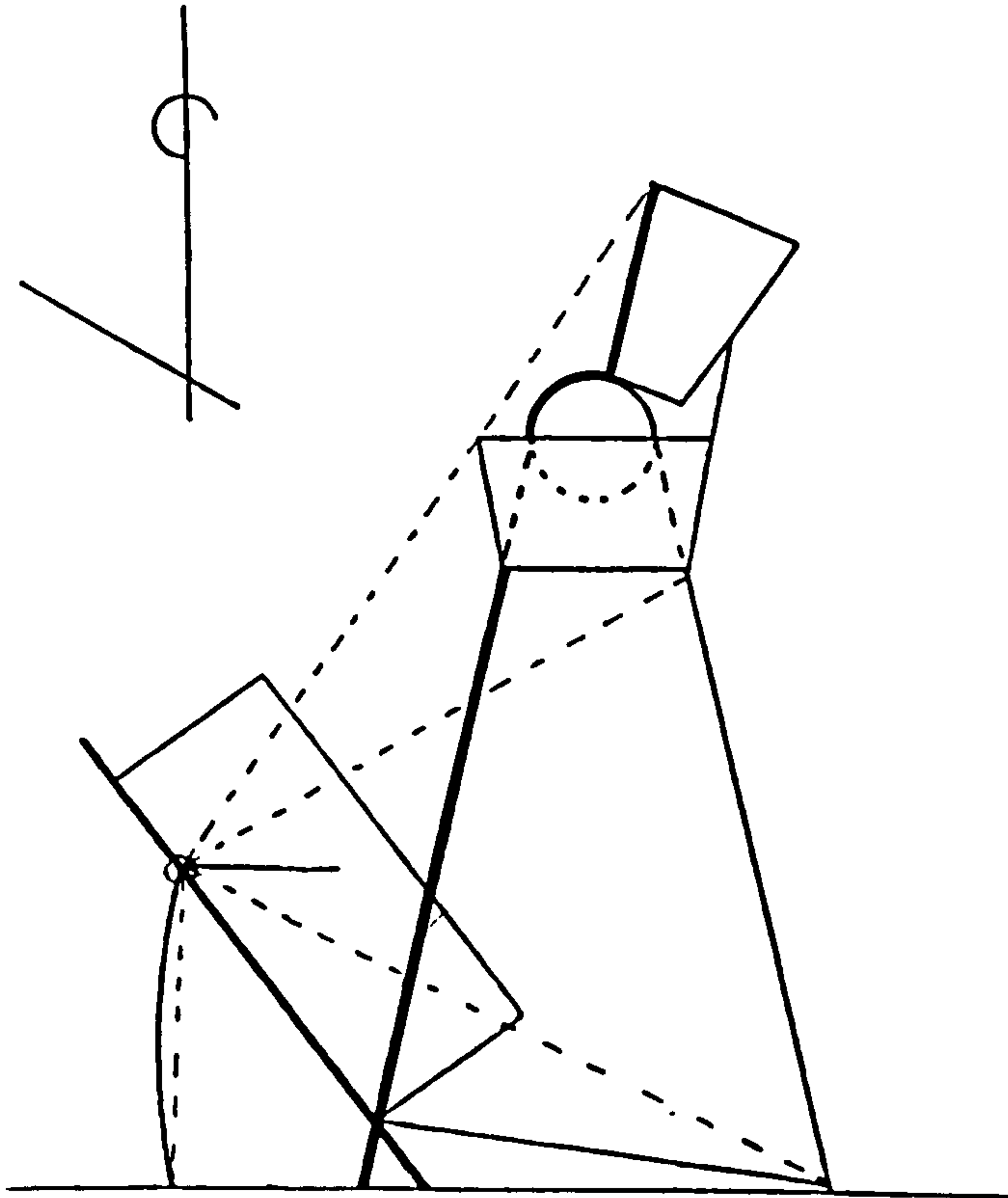
A dozen or so other ex-Bauhaus staff and a small group of Americans (including Philip Johnson) were acknowledged as helpers. Such a substantial body of collaborators, and the amount of exhibition and catalogue material, required clarity of purpose, coherent organisation, a great deal of debate and painstaking selection. At first glance, therefore, there seemed little distracted dream-consciousness or other subliminal processes at play in the catalogue.

The exhibition was a major event, accompanied by media attention. The public and press interest represented the entry of the Bauhaus into the media spectacle of exhibition and publication and helped to establish the Bauhaus style in the USA. The School's audience, and its economic and cultural context changed dramatically from then on. Having claimed to have hitherto concentrated only on the industrial technologies of production, the Bauhaus now became immersed in publicity and marketing—the production processes of the commodity sign.

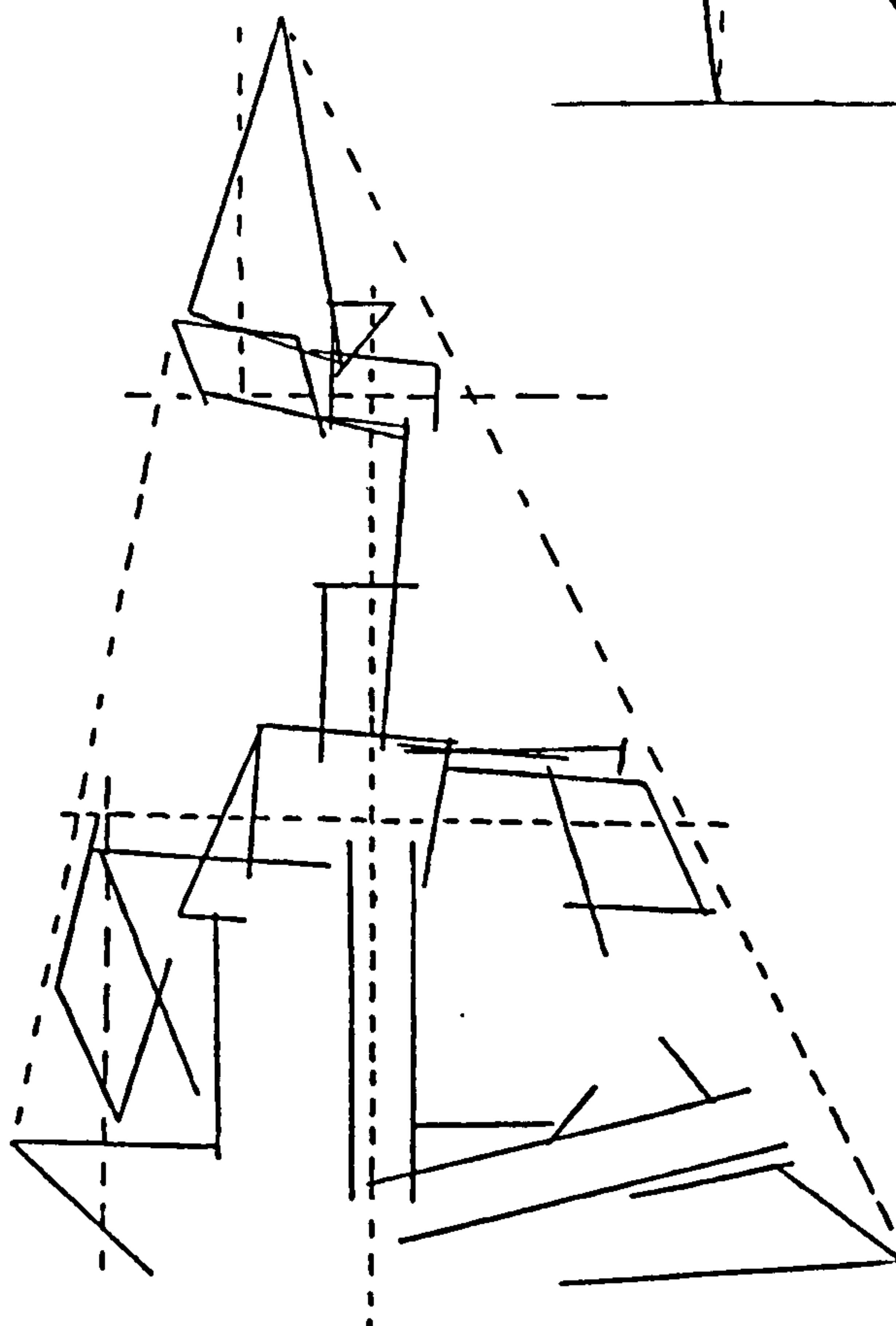
Much in the catalogue was left unsaid. It occasionally referred to the difficult political and economic context of the Bauhaus activities which had forced it to close. It presented itself as a repository of objective fact and painstaking documentation. Barr (Bayer 1975, 6-7), in his introduction, called it 'a collection of evidence—photographs, articles and notes done on the field of action', a statement which is closely paraphrased on the back cover.

The 'unsaid' of the catalogue—the contradiction between its mask of eternal youth and the school's real struggle for survival which forms the unwritten Bauhaus history—is the main focus of this dissertation. In the next four chapters I use the catalogue to examine: the production of commodity signs; the transformation of dream-images into dialectical images; the emergence of post-Fordist economic practices; the transition to a media apparatus; and the unconscious reproduction of the dominant fiction. I hope to show that the successes and failures of the Bauhaus were largely the result of forces beyond the school's control, many of which continue to affect architectural education today.

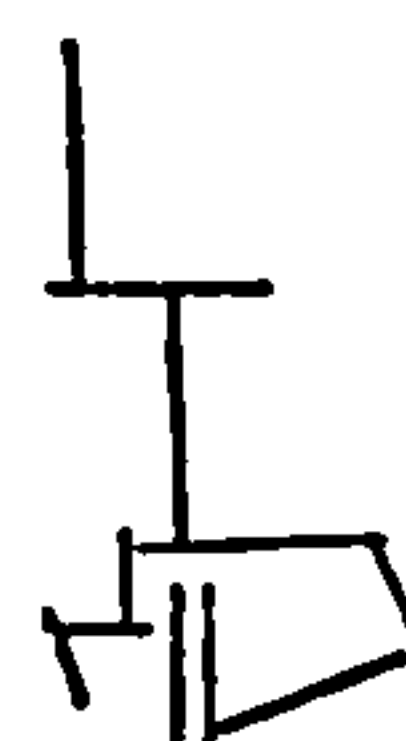
second stage:
objects recognizable (saw,
grindstone, pail), main
tensions indicated in col-
ors, principal weights in
broad lines; focal point of
the constructional net in
dotted lines
above: essential scheme of
the composition



169

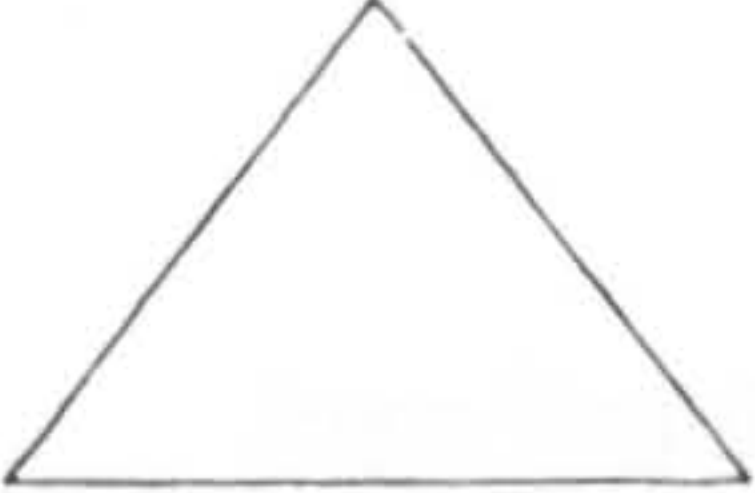

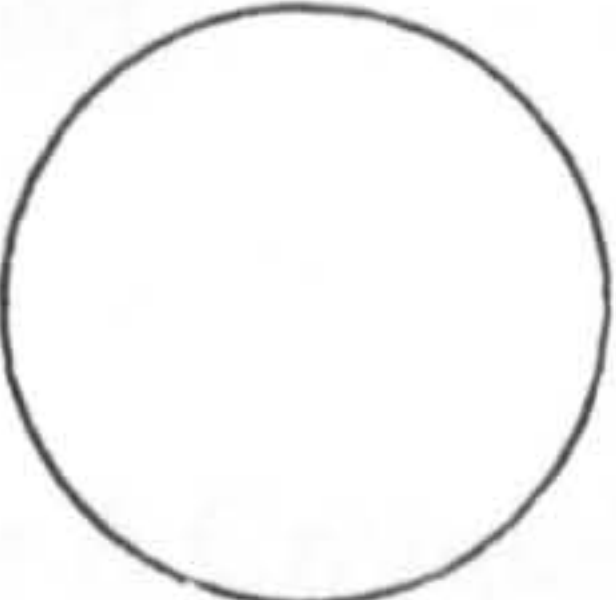


third stage:
left: objects completely
translated into energy
tensions, mai construction
indicated by dotted lines.
above: scheme.



Chapter 8. Laboratory of Signs

Questionnaire given to all Bauhaus members to investigate psychological relationship between form and color.

Specialty (Profession): For experimental purposes the wall-painting workshop of the Weimar Bauhaus asks you to do the following problems:

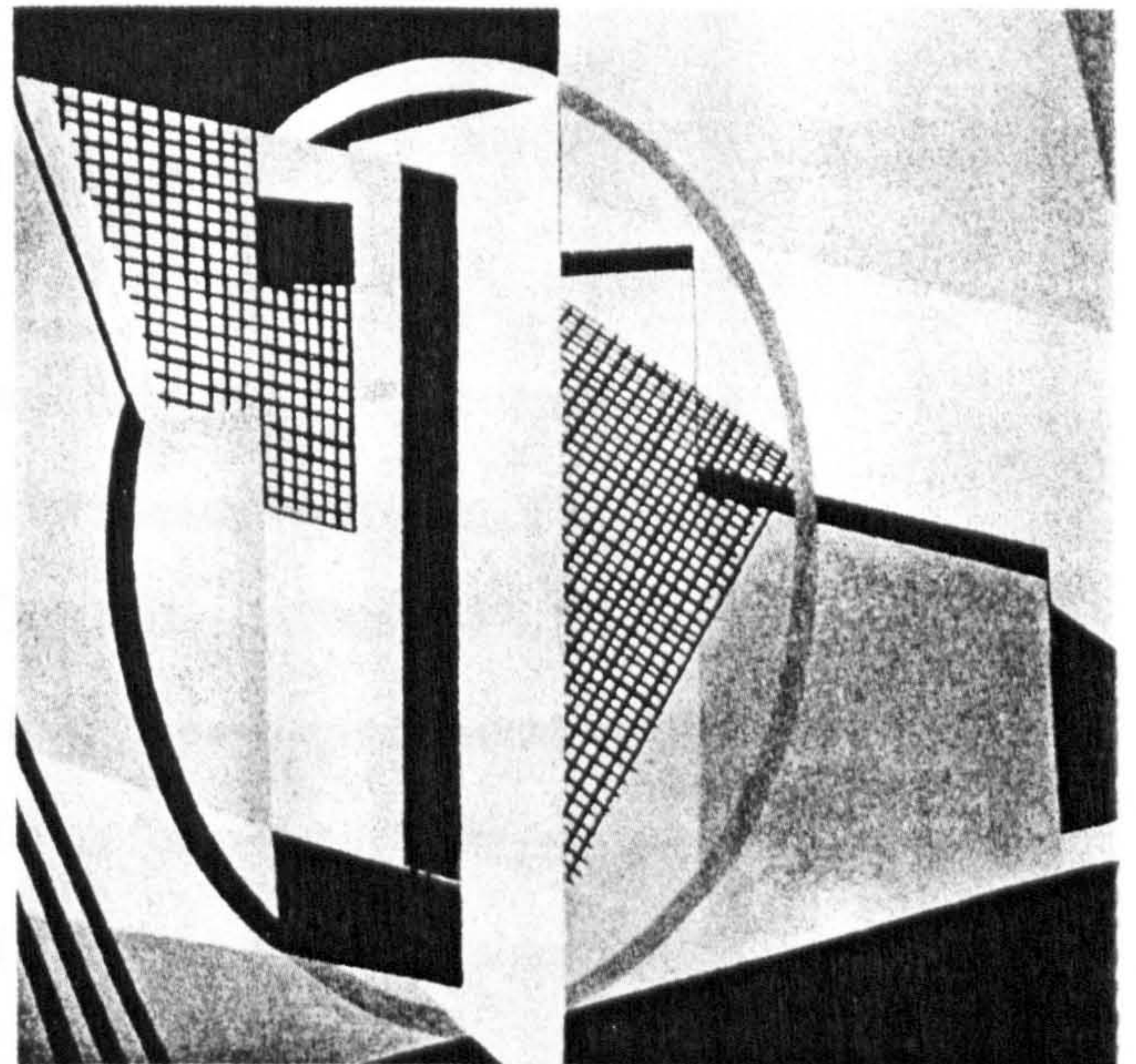
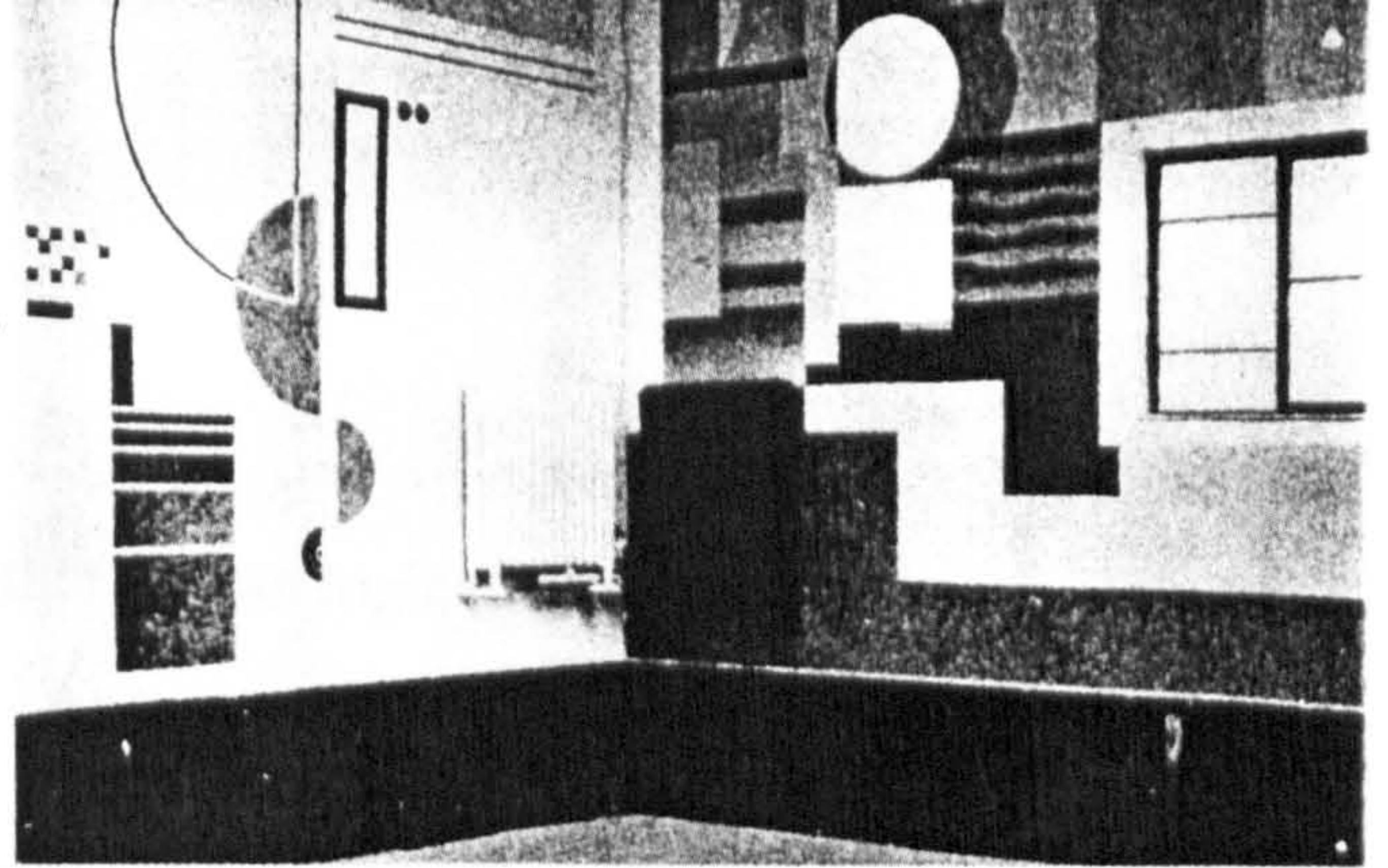
Sex 1. Fill in these 3 forms with 3 colors: yellow, red and blue. Each form should be completely filled by one color.

Nationality 2. If possible, explain your distribution of colors.

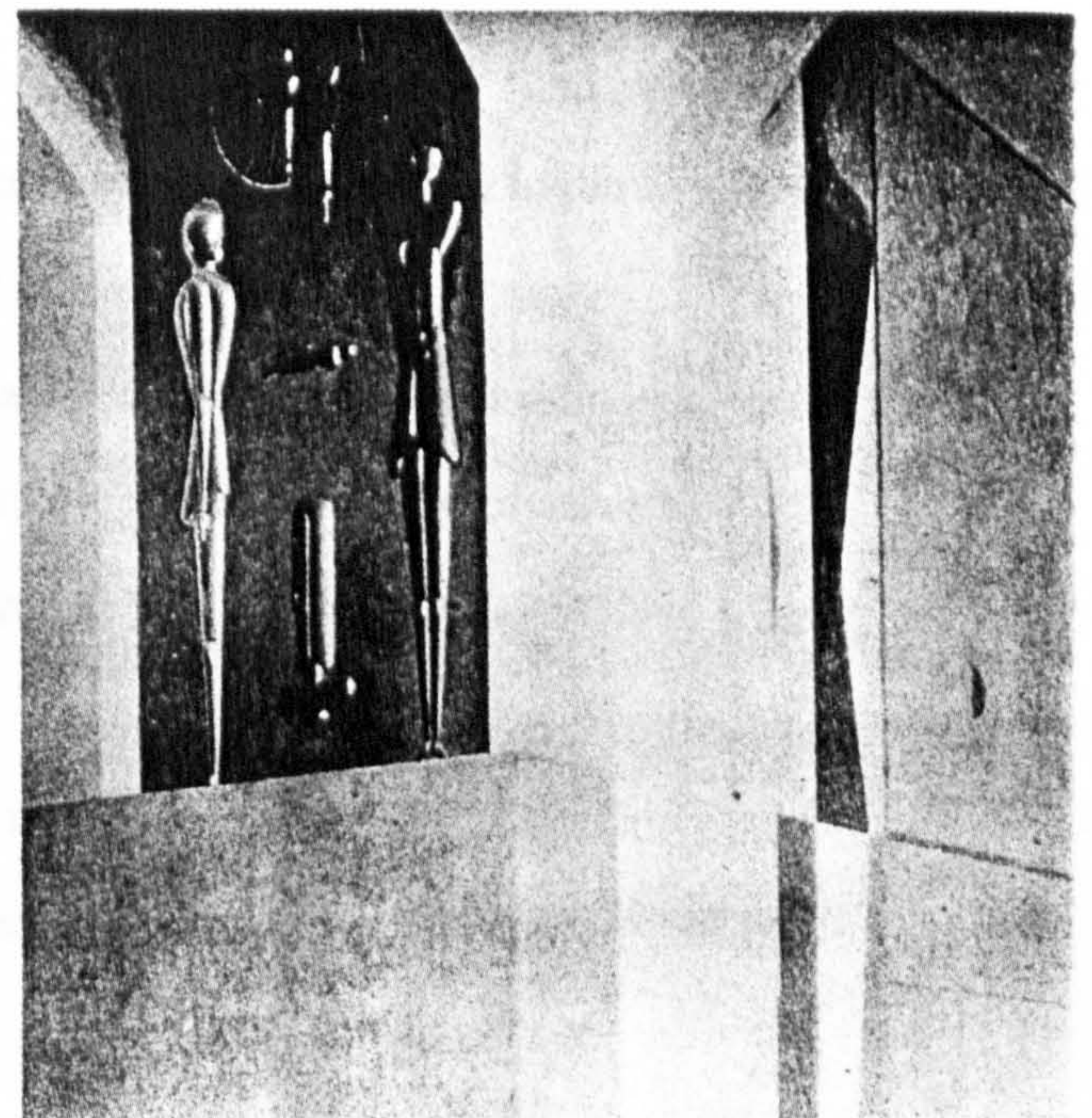
Explanation:

68

W. Menzel: Fresco in the wall-painting workshop, Weimar



Oskar Schlemmer: Relief in the entrance hall, Weimar Bauhaus. 1921-1922



8.1 Codifying form and colour, Bauhaus questionnaire, *Bauhaus 1919-1928*, 1975 ed., p. 68

8.1. Simulacra at the Bauhaus

So it is from the Bauhaus' inception that we can logically date the 'revolution of the object.'

Jean Baudrillard For A Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign (1981, 185)

The era of simulation represents, for Baudrillard, the last of several orders of signification, each characterised by an increasing separation of signs and things. The final phase, the Simulation Order (Baudrillard 1983, 11), bears 'no relation to any reality whatever: it is its own pure simulacrum'. At this point the authority of reality as a final referent for meaning collapses and is replaced by myths of origin constructed (101) from within the signification system itself:

Here are the models from which proceed all forms according to the modulation of their differences. Only affiliation to the model makes sense, and nothing flows any longer according to its end, but proceeds from the model, the 'signifier of reference', which is a kind of anterior finality and the only resemblance there is.

Such myths of origin are generated from models. They no longer bear any relation to reality but are internally derived.

Baudrillard writes (100, author's italics) that

here it is a question of a reversal of origin and finality, for all the forms change once they are not so much mechanically reproduced but even *conceived from the point-of-view of their very reproductibility* [sic], diffracted from a generating nucleus we call the model.

Baudrillard suggests the Bauhaus was the first institution grasp this shift. He writes (Baudrillard 1981, 186, author's italics):

Just as the industrial revolution marked the birth of a field of political economy, of a systematic and rational theory of material production, so the Bauhaus marks the *theoretical extension of this field of political economy* and the practical extension of the system of exchange value to the whole domain of signs, forms and objects.

The Bauhaus' unique and innovative contribution to design education has traditionally been understood to be its privileging of industrial production as a shared new reality driving teaching method and content, uniting theory with practice and merging diverse creative disciplines into a single *Gesamtkunstwerk* (total work of art). The Bauhaus still stands as perhaps the most powerful model appearing to reject education as the autonomous production of signs. To claim, therefore, as Baudrillard does, that the long-term historical contribution of the Bauhaus was to further expand an autonomous system of signification is to undermine a still much admired cornerstone of modernist design pedagogy.

Baudrillard proposes that the Bauhaus' unique contribution to design education was to subsume industrial production under image production. He sees the union of design and industrial technique as extending an abstract order of signification into hitherto relatively untouched objects and practices of everyday life, absorbing their diversity and specificities of uses into the systematised functionality of design. He believes that design confers commodity status on objects by replacing previous systems of use and exchange by a system of value based on the exchange and circulation of signs. By conferring objects with design status, objects become commodity signs.

In this scenario the Bauhaus, at least initially, transformed a broad range of lived experiences into systematised aesthetic/functional codes ready for assimilation and reproduction not only as commodities within mechanical production systems but also, more importantly, as commodity signs circulating within communication media such as books, newspapers, advertising and exhibitions. The uniqueness of the Bauhaus lay in its use of a single educational institution to extend this sensibility to an unprecedented range of everyday objects. Baudrillard writes (191):

... use value (utility) and functionality, the one given as final reference of political economy, the other of design, serve in fact only as the concrete alibi for the same process of abstraction. Under the pretext of producing maximal utility, the process of political economy generalizes the system of exchange value. Under the pretext of maximizing the

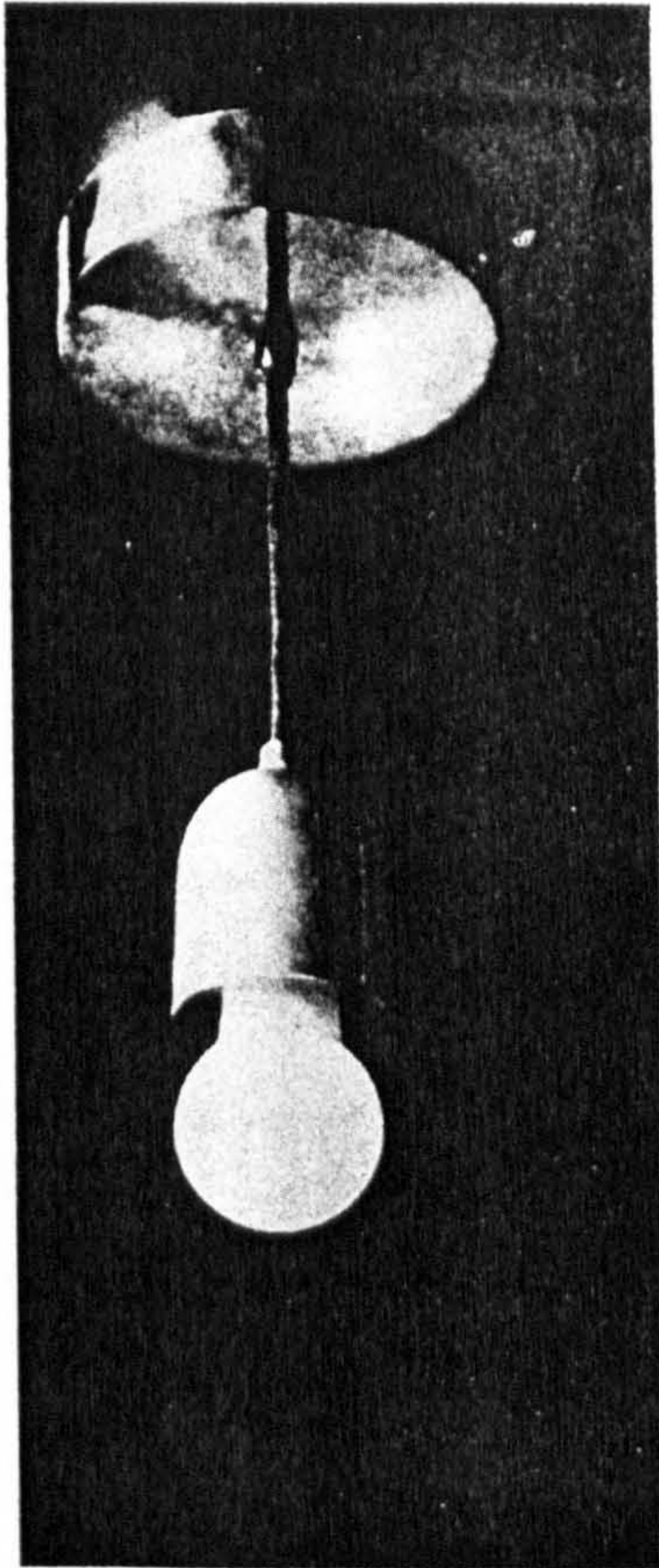
functionality of objects (their legibility as meaning and message, that is in the end their use value as sign), design and the Bauhaus generalize the system of sign exchange value.

This view also rejects the received understanding of the Bauhaus as a nucleus of new teaching methods fostering new social relations—collaborative relationships between designers, makers and users. Instead it presents the educational innovation of the Bauhaus as advancing consumer capitalism and fetishising the commodities on which it depends. It denies a radical role for Bauhaus education and, by implication, for contemporary design education based on similar principles. It would clearly demoralise idealistic educators and members of the public, and conservative critical opinion might use it to argue that, if education is simply an extension of the economy, it would be more effective if it were located entirely within the workplace.

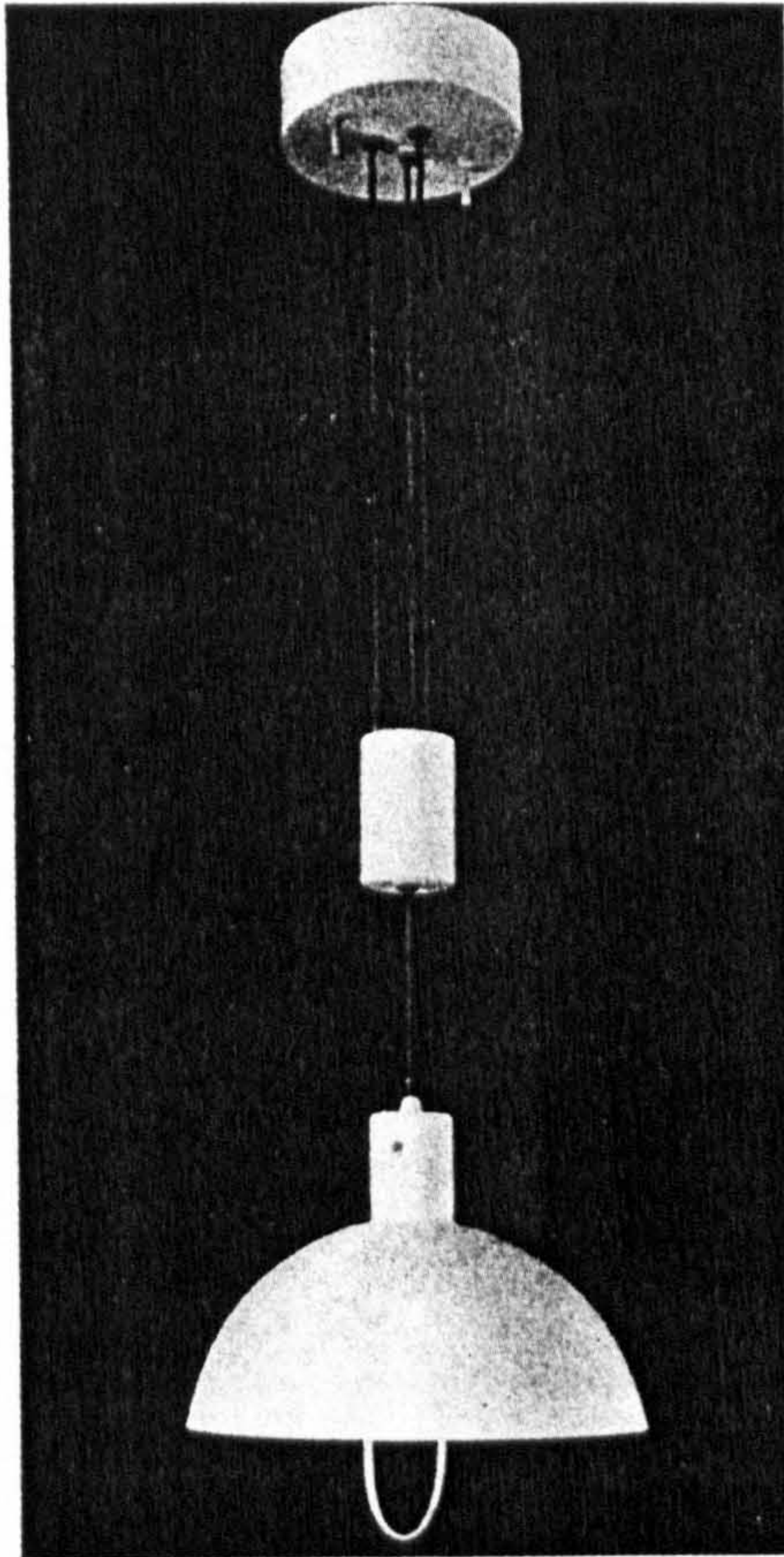
I do not intend to reproduce either conservatism or pessimism. Instead I hope to show that the history of the Bauhaus was not as straightforward as its self-representation in the 1938 catalogue as a school of design dealing with the reality of industrial production. Baudrillard's claim that this reality was defined through codified systems of signs—formalism and functionalism—which maintained the school's activities within the realm of semiology rather than industrial production or social practice, relies on information that Bauhaus publications like the 1938 catalogue presented. Such information was selective, written for an American audience already

familiar with European modernism as a largely formal phenomenon and does not give a full picture of the school's history.

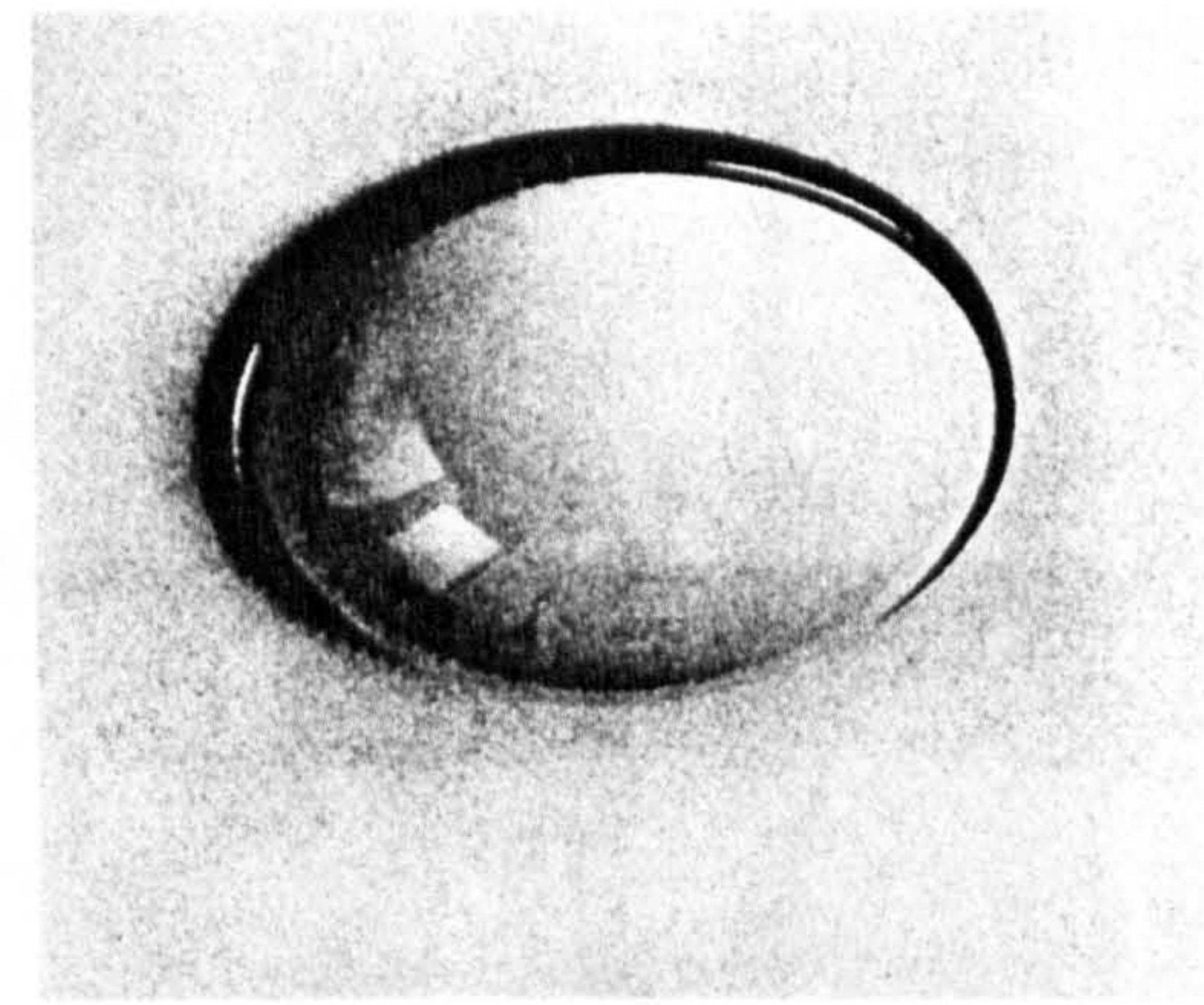
To establish^{*} whether the Bauhaus followed Baudrillard's scenario, I compare the received view of the Bauhaus to Baudrillard's interpretation. I begin by agreeing with Baudrillard. In section 8.2 I show that the 1938 catalogue, as a key document in the formation of the official history of the Bauhaus, identified many of the characteristics Baudrillard associates with the Bauhaus as a powerhouse of commodity signs. In section 8.3. I show that the Bauhaus adoption of a 'universal semiotic of technological experience' (186) sprang from external pressures for reform of German art education in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Here, contrary to Baudrillard, I argue that the Bauhaus was neither the first nor the only school to introduce commodity aesthetics into design education. In section 8.4 I use the 1938 catalogue to argue that the loss of the real caused by mechanical reproduction of objects and images was compensated at the Bauhaus by a 'procession of simulacra'—largely medieval myths of origin, derived externally in response to economic and political pressures.



Marianne Brandt: Spun chromium lighting fixture for corridors. 1925



M. Brandt and H. Przyrembel: Adjustable ceiling fixture. Aluminum shade. 1926



Marianne Brandt: Lighting fixture for walls or low ceilings. 1925

8.2. Signs and Design

WHAT is the Bauhaus?

The Bauhaus is an answer to the question: how can the artist be trained to take his place in the machine age?

Inside book jacket

Bauhaus Catalogue 1938

In the 1938 catalogue, the text which most clearly outlined the characteristics with which the Bauhaus has come to be identified today, and which Baudrillard subsequently adopts in his analysis of the school, was the catalogue's preface by Alfred H. Barr. Barr outlined (Bayer 1975, 6) the Bauhaus principles:

that most students should face the fact that their future should be involved primarily with industry and mass production rather than with individual craftsmanship;

that teachers in schools of design should be men who are in advance of their profession rather than safely and academically in the rear-guard;

that the school of design should, as the Bauhaus did, bring together the various arts of painting, architecture, theatre, photography, weaving, typography, etc., into a modern synthesis which disregards conventional distinctions between the 'fine' and the 'applied' arts;

that it is harder to design a first rate chair than to paint a second rate painting—and much more useful; ...

that a school of design should have on its faculty the purely creative and disinterested artist such as the easel painter as a spiritual counterpoint to the practical technician in order that they may work and teach side by side for the benefit of the student;

that thorough manual experience of materials is essential to the student of design—experience at first confined to free experiment and then extended to practical shop work;

that the study of rational design in terms of technics and materials should be only the first step in the development of a new and modern sense of beauty;

and, lastly, that because we live in the 20th century, the student architect or designer should be offered no refuge in the past but should be equipped for the modern world in its various aspects, artistic, technical, social, economic, spiritual, so that he may function in society not as a decorator but as a vital participant.

I suggest that these points all relate to Baudrillard's thesis that the Bauhaus instituted and elevated design as the 'magic potion' transforming the commodity into a commodity sign.

Using Baudrillard, I re-state Barr's principles as follows:

the future of students was within industry—which acted as a new source of commodity signs;

the future of design educators was outside both the academy and the profession because these two institutions formed a 'closed shop' limiting the expansion of the commodity sign into new territories. Instead, by implication, educators at the helm of innovative educational institutions like the Bauhaus would act as 'captains of design', sailing into the 'free market' of industry;

the future of education was within an interdisciplinary structure—a new kind of 'free market' where the erasure of disciplinary boundaries made an ever greater body of objects available for the creation, assembly and exchange of commodity signs;

the creation of sign value within the interdisciplinary and aesthetic 'free market' was only secondarily extended to production technologies through the system of the workshops; in the first instance 'free' formal experiments (in sign exchange value) took priority over ones of craftsmanship and utility (use value)

sign value thus derived would be systematised within an ever growing structure of exchange (codifying and extending a new and modern sense of beauty)

no field of knowledge (artistic, technical, social, economic, spiritual) should be closed to the designer in order to extend the commodity sign, its codification and exchange ever further.

The affirmation of industry as a new source of signs came from the longest text in the catalogue, Gropius' 1923 essay (Gropius 1923a), *Idee und Aufbau des Staatlichen Bauhauses*, reprinted in the catalogue (Bayer 1975, 20-29) as 'The Theory and Organisation of the Bauhaus'. This essay had originally been written for the Bauhaus exhibition of 1923, marking the beginning of the school's need to define itself through publicity and justify its funding by the regional government. Its genesis therefore lay in the two conditions necessary for the production of the commodity sign — media value and economic value.

In the 1938 catalogue the essay formed the principal document through which the reader and exhibition visitor interpret the teaching philosophy of the school. In its second half it introduced the machine and standardisation as a source of design ideas. Gropius wrote (25) that 'the Bauhaus believes the machine to be our modern medium of design and seeks to come to terms with it'. Some pages later he focused specifically on mass-produced housing (28, my italics):

the Bauhaus has set itself the task of creating a centre for experimentation where it will try to assemble the achievements of economic, technical and formal research and to apply them to problems

of domestic architecture in an effort to combine the *greatest possible standardisation with the greatest possible variation of form*.

Standardisation provided the abstraction necessary to create a system of sign exchange; the greatest possible variation of form provided a large and codified system of signs within it. Design was therefore to stimulate the production of new systems of commodity signs.

Gropius identified the need for design earlier in the essay, in a section entitled 'Dearth of Industrial Designers' (22):

the crafts—and more especially the industries—began to cast about for artists. A demand arose for products outwardly attractive as well as technically and economically acceptable. The technicians could not satisfy it.

He continued by saying that the solution was to

realise that appearance, efficiency and expense could be simultaneously controlled only by planning and producing the industrial object with the careful co-operation of the artist responsible for its design.

The integration of signification and production was to be achieved by merging high art—'the artist responsible for ... design' with low art—'planning and producing the industrial object'. Design was to confer more

than utility on the object ; it would integrate aesthetics with economy and technology.

The section ended with Gropius' statement (22) that

it was logical to establish the following basic requirements for the future training of all gifted individuals: a thorough practical, manual training in workshops actively engaged in production, coupled with sound theoretical instruction in the laws of design.

This supports Baudrillard's claim (1981, 186, my brackets) that 'the Bauhaus tries to reconcile the social and technical infrastructure [a thorough practical, manual training] installed by the industrial revolution with the superstructure of forms and meanings' [laws of design]. Such reconciliation was to be achieved by erasing the academic division between high and low art. Over a page of Gropius' 1923 essay is dedicated to an attack on the academy and its isolation of the artist. Gropius wrote (Bayer 1975, 21):

The tool of the spirit of yesterday was the 'academy'. It shut off the artist from the world of industry and handicraft and thus brought about his complete isolation from the community.

The expansion of commodity signs would also take place through the erasure of disciplinary boundaries, providing more material for assimilation and codification. Gropius welcomed interdisciplinary work. Already in the

1919 founding manifesto of the Bauhaus he had said, rejecting the division between fine and applied arts (16):

Architects, painters and sculptors must recognise anew the composite character of a building as an entity. Only then will their work be imbued with the architectonic spirit which it has lost as 'salon art'.

After erasing disciplinary boundaries, production could follow signification because a wider range of sources, available in the first place as images or information, provided the starting point for design. Later in the 1923 essay Gropius implied that the division between art and life would be erased by art acting as the driving force of industry (29, my italics):

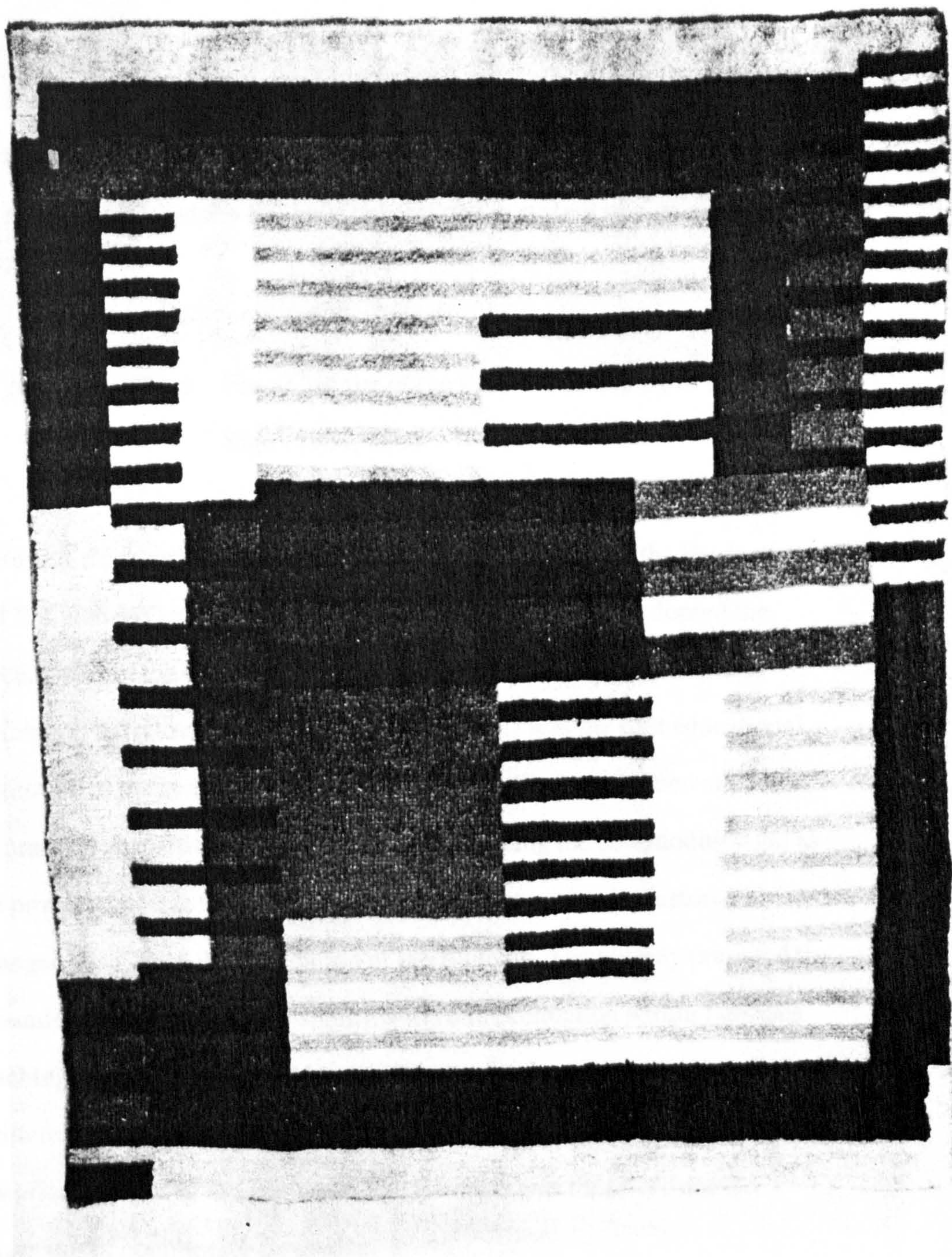
when, in the future, artists who sense new creative values have had practical training in the industrial world, they will themselves possess the means for realising those values immediately. They will *compel industry to serve their idea* and industry will seek out and utilise their comprehensive training.

In one of the essay's final paragraphs Gropius emphasised the importance of formal invention, or more precisely, the invention of a formal language commensurate with the new society. The Bauhaus mission (29, my italics) was 'to educate men and women to understand the world in which they live and *to invent and create forms symbolising that world*.' The new symbolic forms were commodity signs because they represented a society that united the needs of industry (mass-production), economy (exchange) and art

(codification of value through design). Kandinsky's analytical exercises (ill.8. 0) and the Bauhaus questionnaire on form and colour (ill. 8.1) both represent the need to systematise and commodify art into design.

Gropius' promises were made in years of crippling inflation and little building activity; they were embryonic and largely rhetorical. At the time of the 1923 exhibition, the Bauhaus had produced a few designs that were being mass-produced and its exhibitions and publications program was only beginning. The remainder of Gropius' programme in the 1923 essay was only implicitly dedicated to an examination of industrial production, and then largely as a problem of symbolism of form. The results of the promises were to follow later, during the Bauhaus years at Dessau.

Barr's and Gropius's writings support Baudrillard's view that the Bauhaus was the first institution to grasp the principle of using industry as a source of signification, rejecting the autonomy of the academy and systematising signs. Its design of (22): 'products outwardly attractive as well as technically and economically acceptable' could serve economic interests by integrating technique and form through design, rather than transforming production processes themselves. This (Baudrillard 1981, 186) 'abolition of the segregation between the beautiful and the useful' formed the Bauhaus' self-acknowledged contribution to commodity culture and vastly expanded the sources of signification. The Bauhaus was not, however, the first or the only school to take up this cause. It is important to locate the Bauhaus in the context of other educational initiatives in Germany in order to evaluate its role in the emergence of simulation within design education.



8.3. Commodity Signs

Under the pretext of maximizing the functionality of objects (their legibility as meaning and message, that is in the end their use value as sign), design and the Bauhaus generalize the system of sign exchange value.

Jean Baudrillard For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign (1981, 191)

Baudrillard's theories place the Bauhaus at the threshold of the Production and Simulation Orders. He suggests that Bauhaus teaching adopted the mechanisms of the commodity sign and therefore anticipated the era of simulation to follow. He argues that the Bauhaus was the first educational institution to present a theoretical base (185) for the introduction of commodity aesthetics (the system of value defining the commodity sign) as the primary content of design education. However, broader historical changes, leading to the foundation of the Bauhaus, had already prepared the ground for the integration of signification and production within Bauhaus teaching. Alexander Dorner's essay, *The background of the Bauhaus*, written (Bayer 1975, 11-15) for the 1938 catalogue fully acknowledges the historical genesis of the Bauhaus. The Bauhaus was therefore not the originator of commodity aesthetics.

Already before the First World War, manufacturers, designers and architects had argued that better design would improve international

competitiveness of German goods. In 1910 Gropius wrote (Wingler 1980, 26) to the German industrialist Emil Rathenau that 'only through the principle of mass-production can any kind of quality product be achieved'. New industrial commodities were to have higher exchange value, or quality, derived from study of production and aesthetics.

The *Werkbund*, founded in 1907 by Hermann Muthesius, whose members included Peter Behrens, Walter Gropius, Bruno Taut and Otto Bartning, advocated the integration of art and mechanisation through reform of design education (Neumann 1993, 212): 'The aim of the *Werkbund* is the penetration of work by the collaboration of art, industry and trade through education'. Droste states that Otto Bartning produced (Droste 1993, 18) a 'Teaching Plan for Architecture and the Fine Arts on the Basis of Handicrafts' which influenced Gropius' Bauhaus curriculum. Reform of art education was to lead to the design of objects suited to new production processes, and the creation of a new aesthetic value system to accustom consumers to the new objects. This would in turn lead to greater competitiveness of German products. The pressure on the Bauhaus to introduce commodity aesthetics into education was therefore external and economic, although one with which progressive educators readily agreed.

Rainer Wick, in *Bauhauspädagogik* (1994, 57-62) identifies five main areas of change targeted by reformers of art education in the period preceding the First World War. I argue that the reformers' five points echo Barr's text in the 1938 catalogue.

First, like the Bauhaus, the reformers rejected the salon art of the academies. Although the German and Austro-Hungarian Academies had been founded in part for the purpose of advancing trade, they had in practice returned to the teaching of high art along the classical model of the Italian academies, with an emphasis on historical styles. The division between high and low art was an obstruction to commodity aesthetics. In the Academies, salon art had also served a small *élite* audience and therefore had a limited circulation. In the new design schools a broader student population would instead be educated to form the new mass-producers and consumers of signs.

Second, following Gottfried Semper, the reformers wished to replace academic painting and sculpture with an education in the crafts. This position had been publicised and gained support from politicians and industrialists. It formed the core of Gropius' proposals to the Duke of Saxe-Weimar during their negotiations about the Bauhaus. Gropius was therefore reiterating an already well-established pedagogic principle with which his patron would have been familiar. New sign values could only be produced through combining signification with production and therefore through the interpenetration of theory with practice. Craft (and later industry) therefore had to be as important as art. Craft education would become the structure through which beauty and use were to be transformed into commodity aesthetics.

Third, the reformers advocated workshop training as the means to understand and raise standards of production skills—this formed the model

of workshop training at the Bauhaus. This view had come from the Arts and Crafts movement, but had improvements in industrial production as its aim. Practical testing of prototypes in workshops was necessary to create new sign values from materials and production techniques themselves. The workshop was to be the experimental laboratory through which use value could become exchange value.

Fourth, the reformers proposed a reunification of all the arts, with fine art no longer superior to applied art. Instead, art, craft, building construction and architecture were to be integrated within single new educational institutions, anticipating the Bauhaus and other design schools such as Burg Giebichenstein. Changes in institutional structures were necessary to produce the most effective integration of use value and exchange value (aesthetics and economics) through design. In addition, new combinations of materials and techniques of mass-production implied that their sign value relied on a dissolution of existing disciplinary categories and hierarchies. The establishment of the laws of design depended on a broader engagement in the arts.

Finally, the reformers wanted to unite the arts in a preparatory trial semester forming a foundation for later study—the forerunner of the Bauhaus *Vorkurs*. Pedagogic as well as institutional structures were necessary for the changes in design. A new class of designers was necessary to create and recreate such commodity signs, and to maintain their circulation and exchange. The unification of the visual arts, eliminating the boundaries between them, in a preliminary course forming the first year of study, was

essential. In addition, if students' acceptance of the new ideology were to be unconscious and therefore uncontested, these principles had to be introduced to them before they built up a critical vocabulary of their own, in the first year. They had to form the first, most formative experience of the student.

Wick's five points affirm that the Bauhaus' transformation of the values of commodity signs from those based on production to ones based on sign exchange had well-established precedents in German educational reform outside the Bauhaus. It forms part of a consensus regarding the origins of modernism within architectural history, which is reflected already in Dorner's 1938 essay. This bears out Baudrillard's generalised thesis regarding the commodification of signs in the early part of the twentieth century—but locates this within reforms to design education generally rather than through the singular role of a pioneering Bauhaus.

Schools such as (Wick 1994, 58) the Obrist-Debschitz school in Munich, the Frankfurt School of Art, the Breslau Academy of Art and Craft, Burg Gebiechenstein and the Reimann and Itten schools in Berlin introduced a vocational design education embodying many of these principles and combining an understanding of craft, technology and form. After the war, the *Deutsche Werkbund* too re-emerged, as the Works Council for Art (*Arbeitsrat für Kunst*), led by Gropius and Bruno Taut. Gropius and Taut proposed architecture as the unifying discipline for other arts and a vehicle for political and social transformation.

These two organisations still in part affirmed a difference between art and technology. Their principals believed that (59): 'certainly one cannot teach or learn the inherently 'artistic' ... But the technology of art can surely be learnt? Of course'. Likewise, Gropius later stated in the founding manifesto of the Bauhaus in 1919 (Gropius 1919e) that 'art rises above all methods, in itself it cannot be taught, but the crafts certainly can be'. The aura of uniqueness was elevated even as it was being destroyed through the new technologies of industrial mass-production and the mass-media.

The Bauhaus' pedagogic principles of commodity aesthetics therefore had a respectable lineage and the founding of the Bauhaus in 1919 was not an isolated phenomenon. Already in 1916 Gropius had been asked, by the Ministry of Saxe-Weimar, as part of his negotiations to merge the Weimar Art Academy with the School of Arts and Crafts, to set out his views on the relationship between the arts and crafts. His response (Wingler 1980, 23) identified how sign value could be derived from technique, take precedence over it and assign a new and privileged status to the designed object. He recognised the link between aesthetic, economic and technical value:

A thing that is technically excellent in all respects must be impregnated with an intellectual idea—with form—in order to secure preference among the large quantity of products of the same kind ... As a result of greater knowledge one now attempts to guarantee the artistic quality of machine products from the outset and to seek the advice of the artist at the moment the form which is to be mass-produced is invented. Thus a

working community is formed between the artist, the businessman, and the technician.

Gropius acknowledged the long and respectable lineage of his ideas when this was useful to him, particularly when addressing sceptical politicians. In his presentation to the Thuringian Regional Assembly (*Landtag*) in 1920 he stated that (Wingler 1980, 52): 'the Bauhaus is not an experiment [but] ... a development of and not a break with tradition' supported by '22 directors of the most important art establishments in Germany and Austria'.

Yet despite their respectable historical lineage, the practical realisation of the principles of integrating fine and applied arts at the Bauhaus' was a matter of luck. Gropius had originally been approached by Fritz Mackensen, the director of the Weimar Academy, to lead a new architecture department, but had replied (Wingler 1975, 29) that he saw architecture as all-encompassing and therefore could not agree to lead a mere sub-section of the Academy. The fusion of the two art institutions in Weimar, the Academy of Fine Arts and the Arts and Crafts School, which provided the institutional structure for the integration of art and craft, only took place because as Gropius succeeded Van de Velde in the latter, the post of director came vacant in the former. Gropius grasped this unexpected opportunity to persuade the Thuringian government to merge the two positions, which led to the foundation of the Bauhaus.

The attempt to merge high and low art met with almost immediate opposition. Despite Gropius' appeals to tradition, there was vociferous

protest against the Bauhaus, with demands not only to reinstate the Academy as a separate art institution but also to close the Bauhaus. This gained such public and media support that by 1920 it presented (Miller Lane 1968, 74) a real challenge to the school's stability. The local press wrote:

We cannot afford to support two institutions at once, and Weimar's fate depends upon our art academy. ... Our future development cannot represent the opposite of what made us great in the past.

Miller Lane (73, author's brackets) also quotes the resolutions of a public assembly of two thousand Weimar citizens recorded in *Deutschland*, 23 January 1920. She states that 'towards the end of December (1920), a group of about fifty citizens and local artists joined in a petition to the state government demanding the continuance of the art academy as a separate institution and recording a series of complaints against the Bauhaus'. As soon as the opposition had successfully petitioned the administration to restore the Academy (69), the protests stopped.

Despite the broad consensus within the Weimar educational reform movement, the Bauhaus did not succeed in persuading the citizens of Weimar of the value of its principles. Political and cultural innovation at state level encountered conservatism at regional level. The Bauhaus too was not ready to apply its teaching principles in practice. Instead, it had to rely, in its early phase, on myths of origin that only indirectly represented its ambitions. German provincial culture and the Bauhaus was not yet ready to welcome the merger between art, architecture, economics and industry.



8.4 Lyonel Feininger, Bauhaus manifesto, woodcut, 1919
Bauhaus 1919-1928, 1975 ed., p. 17

8.4. Myth of Origin: The Guild

When the real is no longer what it used to be, nostalgia assumes its full meaning. There is a proliferation of myths of origin and signs of reality; of second-hand truth, objectivity and authenticity.

Jean Baudrillard

Simulations (1983, 12)

For Baudrillard, the loss of the real was most acutely felt at the threshold between the Production and Simulation Orders, before it was replaced entirely by simulation. From this point onwards, Baudrillard argues, the relation between origin and finality was reversed, erasing the difference between reality and its reproduction. This led to myths of origin which tried to compensate for modernity's erasure of tradition and meaning.

The intensity of semantic confusion at the threshold between the Production Order and the Simulation Order led to the rise of medieval educational models presenting seemingly unassailable if ultimately unsustainable claims to reality. Medieval precedent, with its rhetorical allusions to divine law, provided temporary insulation from the chaotic disintegration of the traditional dominant fiction in the post-war era. The Bauhaus, like many other institutions of the period, used the precedent of the guild as a 'precession of the simulacrum', using a historically comprehensible model of reality to temporarily legitimise its endeavours.

The view of the Middle Ages as an era authenticity had its roots in a combination of romanticism and socialism common in Germany and elsewhere at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. Medievalism in Germany, as with Ruskin and Morris in England, provided a symbol for a new, artisanal socialism.

Throughout Europe guilds became models for working class collegiality and in Germany in particular they were resurrected for the building of actual cathedrals. In Britain the return to medievalism was not only embodied in the figure of Ruskin, but also in writers like Lujo von Brentano (von Brentano 1870). The latter's research on medieval guilds was inspired by a strong interest by workers' unions as precedents for occupational organisation acting as models of resistance to the capitalist division, de-skilling and disempowerment of labour.

The Bauhaus was part of a broader movement seeking models for social and cultural institutions which could resist or at least modify *laissez-faire* economy. Schlemmer wrote in a 1922 report on the workshops for wood and stone (Wingler 1980, 60):

Originally the Bauhaus was founded with visions of erecting the cathedral or the church of socialism, and the workshops were established in the manner of the cathedral building lodges.

The German trade unions, seeking the symbolic solidarity of workers, introduced 'guilds' as an appropriate form of organisation for the building trades before the Second World War. Miller-Lane (1968, 51) wrote that

the idea of the 'building guild' had a separate formulation in the efforts of Martin Wagner to reorganize the building trades into profit-sharing co-operatives.

The *Werkbund* also preached the redemptive qualities of medieval craftsmanship. Its 1912 programme (Neumann 1993, 212) stated that 'one expects salvation by the medieval artisan.' Such medievalism was not always a backward-looking rejection of industrialism but rather a search for a new social order, abolishing old social hierarchies by integrating technology and art. In 1919 the Works Council for Art also advocated the unity of art and technology through architecture, and (general 1919) a new communal spirit: 'art must no longer be the privilege of the few, but the pleasure and life of the masses. The joining of the arts under the wings of a great architecture is the goal'. Gropius, Behrens, Bartning and other members campaigned for craft training in primary schools.

The Bauhaus emerged out of the debate regarding the construction of German identity through art, design and industry which was a response not only to economic but also cultural crisis. Its interest in the positive potential of industrial production emerged as industrial capitalism destroyed traditional social relations, spaces and objects. Its interest in signification coincided with the expansion of publication which made the printed word

and especially the photographic image more freely available in the first decades of the twentieth century but destroyed authentic experience and traditional forms of communication. Mechanical reproducibility of objects and meanings was altering the nature of everyday life and the authority of the models on which it based itself. The Bauhaus needed a new model through which it could deny modernity the loss of the real. Medievalism provided the mythical content necessary to construct the new model of education.

The medieval model extended from teaching content to curriculum structure and even the term Bauhaus itself. 'Bauhaus' (literally 'building-house') is close to the term *Bauhütte* (medieval mason's lodge, literally 'building-hut'). Mies jokingly called the Bauhaus name Gropius' best invention; an effective 'trade name', it symbolised the anti-academic, craft-oriented ambitions of the school. The medieval model also elevated building as the symbol of unity of the arts. This legitimised not only Gropius' position as director, but also that of building studies as the pinnacle of Bauhaus education.

Gropius had already indicated his interest in the medieval model to his political patrons in Saxe-Weimar (Germann 1972, 179, author's italics) in his letter of 1916, outlining plans for the new school:

In this environment we could revive the happy working community that was one of the characteristic features of the mediaeval *Bauhütten*, in

which numerous allied *Werkkünstler*—architects, sculptors and craftsmen of all grades—joined forces ...

Within the curriculum itself, teachers used medieval paintings and typography as sources. Hélène Schmidt-Nonné wrote about her husband, a student in the first phase of the Bauhaus (Neumann 1993, 133) that 'Schmidt borrowed some of those beautifully decorated medieval books that were in the Weimar State Library and diligently copied the hand-written script during his spare hours at home'.

The compositional analyses from Itten's *Vorkurs* selected for the 1938 catalogue (Bayer 1975, 34-35), were all based on works by German painters of the late Middle Ages. Itten wrote (Itten 1921) about the use of Old Masters in his 'Analysen der Alter Meister' in *Utopia: Documents of Reality*. The *Vorkurs* text in the 1938 catalogue (Bayer 1975, 34) confirms this: 'The work of old masters, such as Bosch, Master Francke or Grünewald also offers instruction in the study of form, which is an essential part of the preliminary course'. Itten's analytical sketches also replicate medieval manuscript conventions. His 'Study of hand positions while drawing the figure eight' (35) resemble drawings in the sketchbooks of Villard de Honnecourt, whilst in the 'Adoration of the Magi' by Master Francke (34) the focus on geometry and mathematical formulae below the image are like the German medieval sketchbooks of Mathes Roritzer and Hannes Schmuttermeyer (Shelby 1977).

The craft workshops at the Bauhaus most clearly embodied the spirit of medievalism. Gropius' used Bartning's ideas to propose (Gropius 1937, 36) apprenticeships within craft workshops:

I made every pupil (including the architectural students) bind himself to complete his full legal term of apprenticeship in a formal letter of engagement registered with the local trades council.

The hand was trained with the mind to achieve the unity of spirit and technique of non-alienated labour. As in a medieval building lodge, experience gained in the workshops led to a qualification as a journeyman and, following further training, as master. Legal agreements with specific craft guilds made such qualifications compatible with craft training in other organisations. However, students with craft qualifications gained prior to their arrival at the Bauhaus were not given exemption from workshop tuition; only the Bauhaus combination of skill and form teaching could produce the appropriate type of design.

The workshops were initially taught by a combination of craft master (from one of the guilds) and a form master; later, once the first group of Bauhaus students had qualified as masters, these became the same person. The activities of the form master—to transform craft into art or production into signification—represented the difference between the medieval guild and the Bauhaus. The craft master was not considered able to do this; traditional craftsmanship alone could not serve the sign economy.

The myth of social and individual wholeness promised by the model of the guild was embodied in the teaching method of the *Vorkurs* and its master, Itten, who also supervised several of the crafts workshops. Itten used the concept of 'empathy'—the union of maker, object and user—characterised by German Romantic art theory.

Author and object gained spiritual unity through projective contemplation. Similarly, Wingler cites Itten as writing in 1921 (Wingler 1980, 49) that:

to experience a work of art is to re-create it. Because, intellectually speaking, there is no great difference between a person who experiences a work of art and a person who outwardly represents an experienced form in a work.

For Itten, the mind of the author or audience (separated from all other aspects of the self) communed transparently with the work of art and formed its meaning. The Bauhaus was (Gropius in Bayer 1975, 29) to 'recover primordial joy for all the senses, instead of mere esthetic pleasure'.

To reach this state, the *Vorkurs* had to free the student from convention (34):

[t]his course is intended to liberate the student's creative power' and 'concerns the student's whole personality, since it seeks to liberate him ... to gain a knowledge of both material and form through direct experience.

The *Vorkurs* was (24) to

liberate the individual by breaking down conventional patterns of thought in order to make way for personal experiences and discoveries which will enable him to see his own potentialities and

limitations. For this reason collective work is not essential in the preliminary course.

Ironically, empathy was necessary for the production and in particular the reception of commodity signs. The desired identity of Form and Content, and of the intentions of the author and audience encouraged in the *Vorkurs* mirrored the processes of empathy necessary for commodity fetishism, whereby emotive states would be projected onto inanimate objects that could be shared by the author and user of the object). Empathy was one of the processes necessary to transform human emotive states into characteristics of objects.

Empathy also depended on the removal of all previous cultural coding from both maker and design. The student was to lose (Bayer 1975, 34) all previous cultural coding:

Every new student arrives encumbered with a mass of accumulated information which he must abandon before he can achieve perception and knowledge that are really his own. If he is to work in wood, for

example, he must know his material *thoroughly*; he must have a 'feeling' for wood.

The goal of the *Vorkurs* was the understanding of design, not production; the latter (as craft only) was only a means to achieve the former.

The *Vorkurs* directed the mind of the student (34)

to acquaint him with the basic principles which underly [sic] all creative activity in the visual arts ... combining and composing them to make their relationships fully apparent.

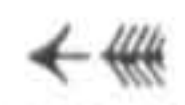
Medieval mysticism thus became an ahistorical experience, beyond criticism and transformation.

The link of the feudal model to the principles of commodity fetishism and its evasion of the technological, political and cultural contradictions of the immediate historical context suggest that medievalism acted as a mythic dream-image. It bypassed a critical examination of the relationship between craft, the 'laying on of hands' and the principles of industrial mass-production. It avoided questions about the industrial exploitation of labour. It is therefore important to examine to what extent the Bauhaus community acted like a dreaming collective, consuming in its self-representations selective images of the past in order to avoid contradictions within the present.



Walter Gropius: Dessau
Bauhaus. Staircase.
1925-1926

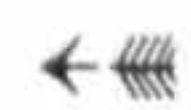
Walter Gropius: Dessau
Bauhaus. Corner of the
workshop wing, bridge
and technical school
beyond. 1925-1926



Walter Gropius: Dessau
Bauhaus. Night view.
1925-1926

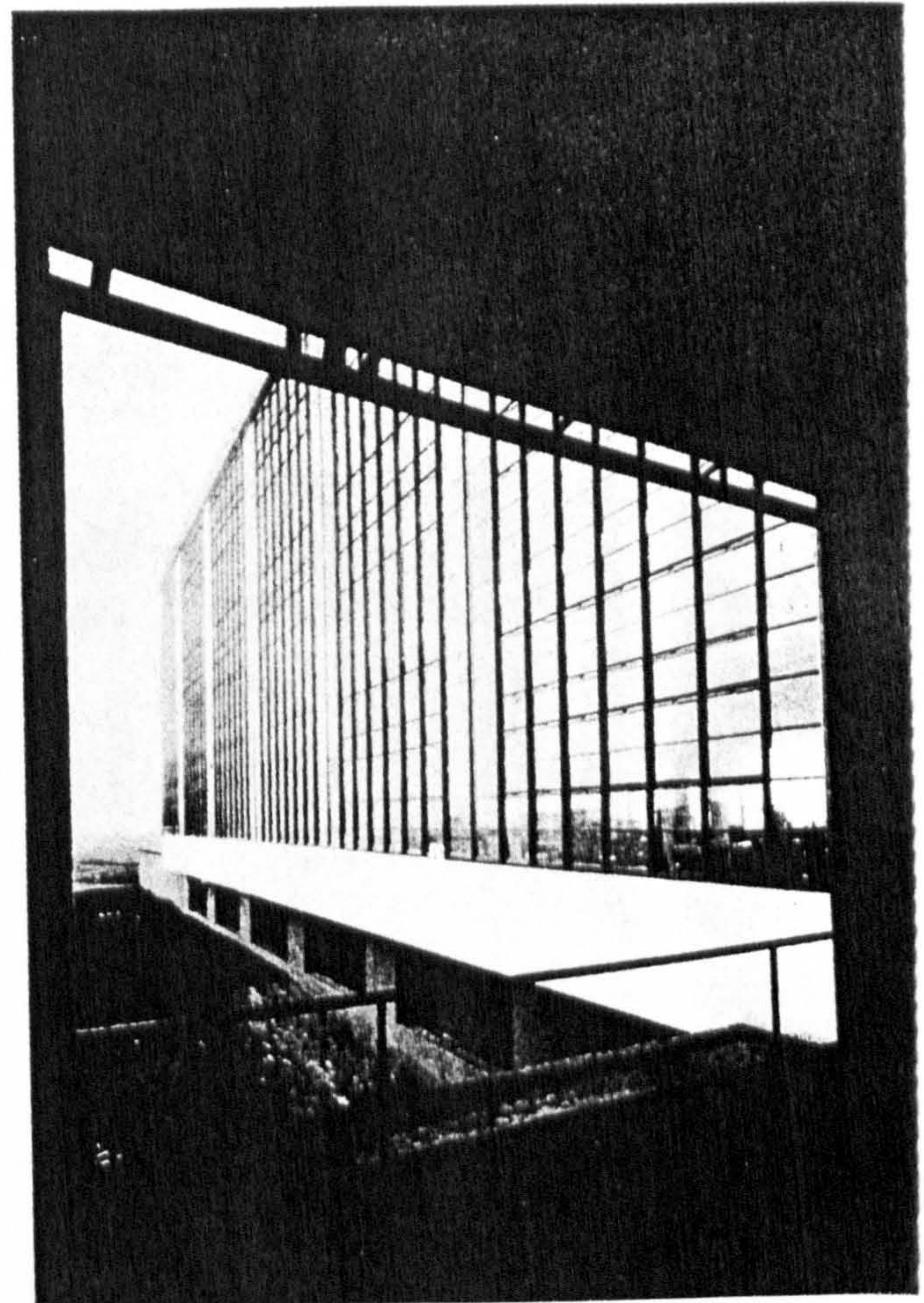


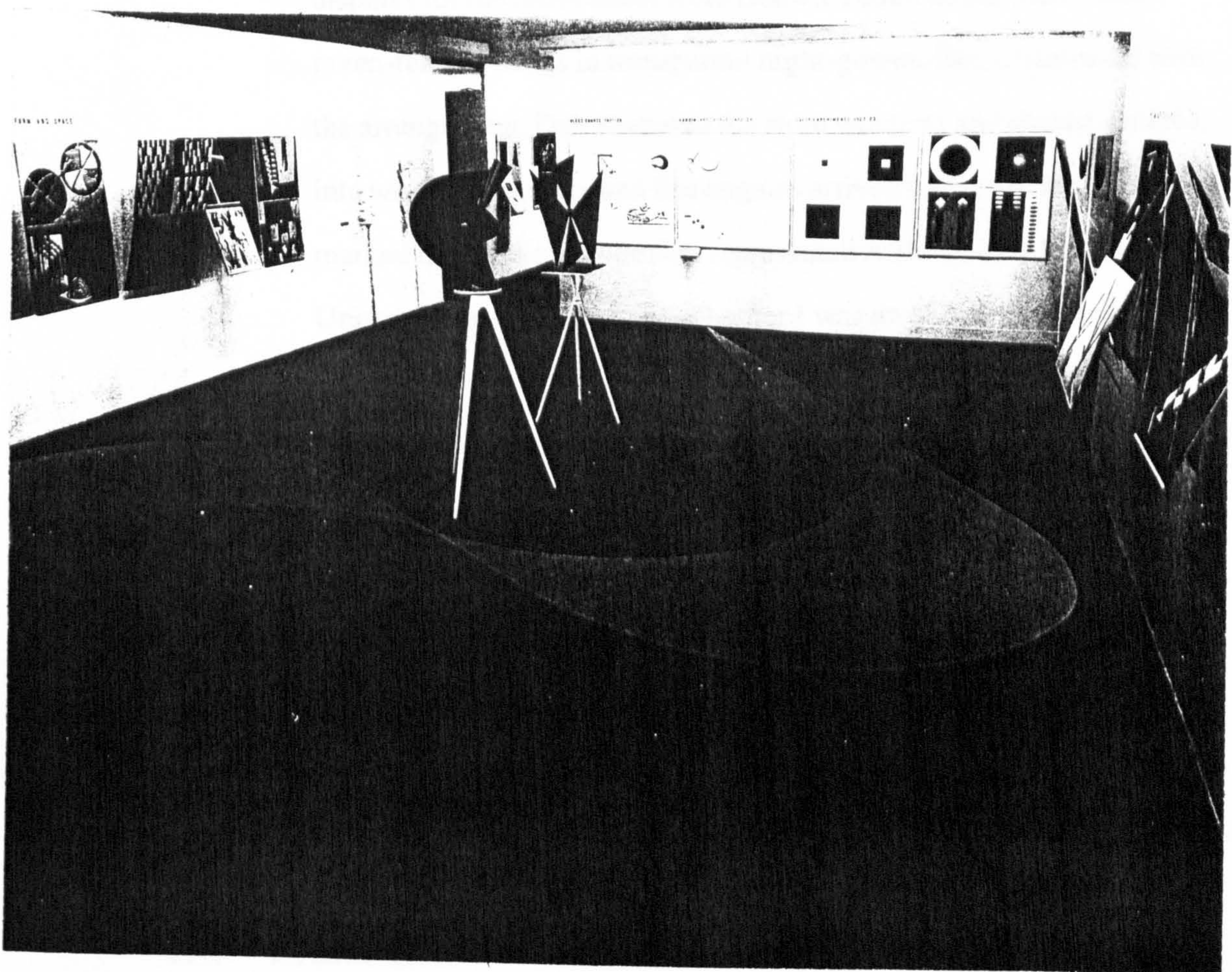
Walter Gropius: Dessau
Bauhaus. Office of the
Director. 1925-1926



Walter Gropius: Dessau
Bauhaus. Dining room.
View toward stage end.
1925-1926

Walter Gropius: Dessau
Bauhaus. View from the
staircase toward the
workshops. 1925-1926





9.1 Work of the *Vorkurs*, Bauhaus exhibition, MoMA, New York, 1938

9.1. Dream-time: The 1938 Exhibition and Afterlife in the Media

In 1938 the Museum of Modern Art on New York's Fifth Avenue displayed the familiar Bauhaus artefacts—somewhat dusty and slightly frayed—and, amazingly, the indigenous public that had belonged to them—now also aged—was transported with the exhibition 5,000 kilometres across the Atlantic. Frank Lloyd Wright came with a stunningly beautiful girl on his arm and wearing his big sombrero and a white carnation in his buttonhole. Gropius made a speech—I had heard it in Germany more than once.

Across the street from the museum, Dali had designed the window displays for the fashionable store Bonwit Teller: angels with black raven-feather wings in transparent night-gowns. But, dissatisfied with the arrangement, Dali shattered the store windows and caused a *mêlée*, into which police cars and fire engines arrived with great fanfare. This marked the opening of the first representative Bauhaus exhibition in the United States. I didn't know whether I was awake or dreaming.

Ferdinand Kramer Bauhaus and Bauhaus People
(Neumann 1993, 83)

Walter Benjamin's theory of dream-houses, dream-images, dialectical images, the dreaming collective and political awakening provides a framework through which the Baudrillardian simulacrum can be revealed to hold political, economic and social content. Such an analysis is necessary to

establish the reality underpinning the imagery produced at the Bauhaus and describe the content beneath Bauhaus commodity signs and myths of origin.

The history of the Bauhaus up to the date of the MoMA exhibition coincides, more or less, with Walter Benjamin's adult career. Benjamin began writing his first major text in 1922 and his last one in 1938; like the works of the Bauhaus, Benjamin's writings today have a significant reputation, yet for most of his life Benjamin was an impoverished freelance writer. Benjamin's life, in contrast to those of Gropius, Mies, Albers and other Bauhaus émigrés, fulfilled his own melancholy view of 'history as a tale of catastrophe'. It symbolises the final fate of Weimar culture in totalitarianism, genocide and war—a fate from which the makers of the Bauhaus myth have been careful to distance themselves. It forms one of the histories which have been marginalised to further the careers of major Bauhaus figures in the USA where the political upheavals in Germany were regarded with suspicion.

'I didn't know whether I was awake or dreaming'—Ferdinand Kramer's flash of comprehension at the Bauhaus exhibition opening and his astonishment at the fantastic tableaux of consumption and spectacle that accompanied it, is the moment of revelation that sparked my interest in the dream-images of the Bauhaus. The juxtaposition of Dali's theatrical destruction of commodities dressed as angels and ravens, Wright's Hollywood-like entrée and Gropius's oft-performed speech highlighted the reliance of the school on publicity, spectacle and the production,

reproduction and circulation of dream-images. The Bauhaus, supposedly only an institution for teaching of the design and manufacture of industrial products, suddenly stood revealed as a media phenomenon—a 'dream-machine'—trading in desires.

Indeed, despite the catalogue's air of objectivity and its carefully assembled documentation, the Bauhaus exhibition must, at the time, have seemed fantastic and dream-like. The context of the exhibition—the imminent outbreak of the Second World War in Europe, the near-total suppression of modern art and architecture in Germany, and the forced exile of most of its significant figures—meant that the event must, to its European authors if not its US audience, have seemed at the time a memory of a distant dream, from which the participants had been rudely awakened by forces they now tried to forget. Conversely, the founding of the school, its consistent production of work under difficult political and economic conditions and, finally, the rebirth of the Bauhaus in the USA must have also underlined the power of such dreams to survive historical trauma.

'The familiar Bauhaus artefacts—somewhat dusty and slightly frayed—and, amazingly, the indigenous public that had belonged to them—now also aged—was transported with the exhibition 5,000 kilometres across the Atlantic'—here Kramer's words indicate the physical and financial effort made to present the Bauhaus spectacle. MoMA had provided the impetus and finances to rescue the exhibits and the participants from the political dangers of Nazi Germany. In the process, the school's representation of the past,

reconstructed as a series of idealised dream-images in the exhibition catalogue, erased most references to the historical context that had stimulated and limited the school's endeavours.

The authors of the exhibition and catalogue also failed to acknowledge an American history that had made the event and publication possible. Under the directorship of Alfred Barr, MoMA had dedicated itself to spreading the cause of modernism in the United States. In 1932 Hitchcock and Johnson's exhibition and catalogue of the International Style, consisting of the work of, amongst others, Le Corbusier, Gropius, Oud, Mies van der Rohe and Frank Lloyd Wright, introduced the modernist and functionalist aesthetic into American middle class culture. Stripped of its social and economic innovations, the International Style exhibition and book marked the aestheticisation and commodification of the modernist project, revealing aesthetic concerns as inseparable from commodity concerns. The 1938 Bauhaus exhibition was therefore a product of a cultural context which had already seen the marketing of European modernism purely as a codified aesthetic phenomenon — a style.

'This marked the opening of the first representative Bauhaus exhibition in the United States' — Kramer's third phrase acknowledges that for the Bauhaus, the exhibition marked the beginning of a new life in the USA. From then on, if not before, the Bauhaus became a dream-house — a source of images stimulating its unconscious reproduction in media spectacle. A plethora of further exhibitions and publications and the founding of schools

along Bauhaus lines in Europe and the USA testifies to the power of its media presence.

In the sections that follow I argue that the Bauhaus was a dream-machine whose dream-images included designs produced during its teaching life and publications produced after its closure in 1933. In sections 9.3 and 9.4 I use the 1938 catalogue itself to show how its form and content addressed a dreaming collective of international sign consumers. In sections 9.5 and 9.6 I use Susan Buck-Morss' interpretations of Walter Benjamin's 'political psychoanalysis' of architectural imagery to suggest that the first phase (1919-1923) of Bauhaus history consisted largely of the production of dream-images and that these were transformed in the second phase (1924-1928) into dialectical images, with both utopian and repressive potential.

Der Verfall der Weimarer Kunst.

Der Schriftsteller Heinrich Lillienfeld, der in den Monaten seinen Wohnsitz von Berlin nach Weimar hat, gibt in der Weimarer Landeszeitung seinen Bericht.

Auflösung des Staatlichen Bauhauses in Weimar

Schwindel-Propaganda.

Das staatliche Bauhaus in Weimar.

Sturm in Weimar

Unser Weimarer Kunstkorrespondent schreibt uns unterm 24. Januar: „Der Kampf, der jetzt in Weimar um das staatliche Bauhaus“ geführt wird im Einzelnen.“

Staatliche Müllzufuhr.

Der Bauhaus-Standal.

In den Weihnachtstagen wurde in der „Vossischen Zeitung“ ausführlich über den Stand der Bauhaus-Affäre berichtet.

Rettet das Bauhaus!

Eine Mahnung im letzten Augenblick

Der Künstlerstreit in Weimar.

Die Bedrohung Weimars.

Von Edwin Redalob.

Der Schlag gegen das Bauhaus

Die neueste „Kulturtat“ der Thüringer Ordnungsregierung

Kultur-Abbau in Thüringen

Die Völkischen verlangen den Abbau des Staatlichen Bauhauses

Kunstphilister.

Im Frühjahr 1919 hat der Architekt Walter Gropius sein Amt als Leiter des Staatlichen Bauhauses in Weimar niedergelegt. Wir haben sein Programm, das ein begeistertes Echo gefunden hat.

Der Kulturkampf in Thüringen.

Systematischer „Abbau der Republik“.

Für das Weimarer Bauhaus.

S. J.-J. Wenn politische Gesinnung und Kunst sich bekämpfen, gibt es einen sonderbaren Streit. „Gesinnung schlägt die Menschen. Die Künstler aber wehren sich, indem sie ihre Leistungen voran.“

Ein Protest der Weimarer Kunstlergesellschaft. Die Bauhaus-Künstler in Weimar protestieren gegen den Abbau des Bauhauses.

9.2 The Dreaming Collective: Publicity and Publications

The Bauhaus lives on, radiantly assaulting the heavens, even at the mightiest gate that ever admitted entry to a continent, New York.

Benno Reifenberg Bauhaus and Bauhaus People
(Neumann 1993, 245)

The catalogue of the 1938 exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art presented the school as a power-house of new forms—of art, artefacts and architecture. Alfred Barr claimed in his introduction to the 1938 catalogue (Bayer 1975, 7) that the material was 'assembled here with a minimum of retrospective revision'. The catalogue tried to avoid political controversy. Yet the political situation in Europe had clearly limited the quantity and nature of exhibited and published work. Political considerations led to the exclusion of contributions by two of the three Bauhaus directors. External political pressure had significantly affected the history of the school, leading at the very least to changes in geographical location and directorship, and certainly to its closure. Finally, the media-based political battle over the Bauhaus had at least in part produced the extensive archival documentation of the Bauhaus, which made the exhibition possible and for which Barr was now claiming neutrality.

The 1938 exhibition was not the first instance of the Bauhaus' existence as an organisation whose identity and value was forged in the public domain through the media. The playing out of the relationship between the

Bauhaus, the state and industry through the mass-media is not well-researched, with the exception of Barbara Miller Lane's important book *Architecture and Politics in Germany* (Miller Lane 1968) and one chapter in Frank Whitford's *Bauhaus* (Whitford 1984).

Miller Lane argues that the fate of the Bauhaus was fought in the press from the very beginning and the school generated controversy almost immediately after its opening in 1919. Negative public comment first occurred (Miller Lane 1968, 238) in mid-December 1919, when the by-elections for the city council were held. At that time, a group of dissatisfied citizens, artists, and academy professors held public meetings to consider complaints against the school. During the following months, this group, allied with local journalists, waged war upon the school. Although the meeting was ostensibly about the candidates for the by-election, the first item on the agenda of this meeting was 'modern art in Weimar'.

The anti-Bauhaus cause was taken up (71) as foreign and un-German by several regional journalists—Leonhard Schrickel and Mathilde Frein von Freytag-Loringhoven (also a member of Weimar City Council) writing for the Thuringian (right-wing) newspaper *Deutschland*. The attack resurfaced in 1922, and more strongly in 1923, in connection to the first Bauhaus exhibition. Miller Lane (75) notes that:

In contrast to their sympathetic reception in the nation at large, the exhibits were consistently attacked by the bulk of the Thuringian press on aesthetic and philosophical grounds.

As political strife increased, so did attacks on the Bauhaus. By 1923 the economy was in crisis. Inflation had reached its heights; the mark was worth less than a millionth of its pre-First World War value. Hunger was common, affecting both working and middle classes. It was not difficult for the Bauhaus to become a scapegoat onto which broader ills were projected.

Much of the attack on the school by the local press was xenophobic and highly inaccurate. Miller Lane notes that the 1923 Bauhaus exhibition was attacked in the press for a lack of duty to German citizens (76):

A syndicated article entitled, 'Much Ado about Nothing' which appeared first in the *Jenaische Zeitung* in 1923, alleged that the school's leadership had been forced to display the work of outsiders in order to cover up its failure to educate its students

Gropius countered with a careful publicity campaign. He had been collecting all types of clippings from newspapers and periodicals from the time of the first attack. He used the favourable ones in his public defences of the Bauhaus and published answers to nearly every charge made by the unfavourable ones. In 1923 he gave a series of lectures to publicise the Bauhaus exhibition and published the well-known and widely read 'Theory and Organisation of the Bauhaus' as an introduction. By 1924 the debate over the Bauhaus had made the school and its work more known in Germany than anything else could have done. Nearly every major newspaper in Germany and most of the more popular magazines had carried

an account of the battle over the Bauhaus. The fate of the school became an issue of national importance. The 1938 catalogue reproduced some of the headlines (ill. 9.2).

After 1924, as the economy improved and construction increased, attention shifted away from education to building projects. The work of architects like Taut and Gropius became the symbol of modern German culture, and was both praised and criticised as such. Although architectural practice absorbed more of his time from 1922, Gropius continued to publicise the Bauhaus and the new architecture in lectures and radio broadcasts, so that the school continued to be associated with progressive tendencies. The ethos in Gropius' writings—architecture's close relationship to society and culture—could, through its association with a new political order, be inverted to imply that the new architecture must have a destructive effect on all established traditions.

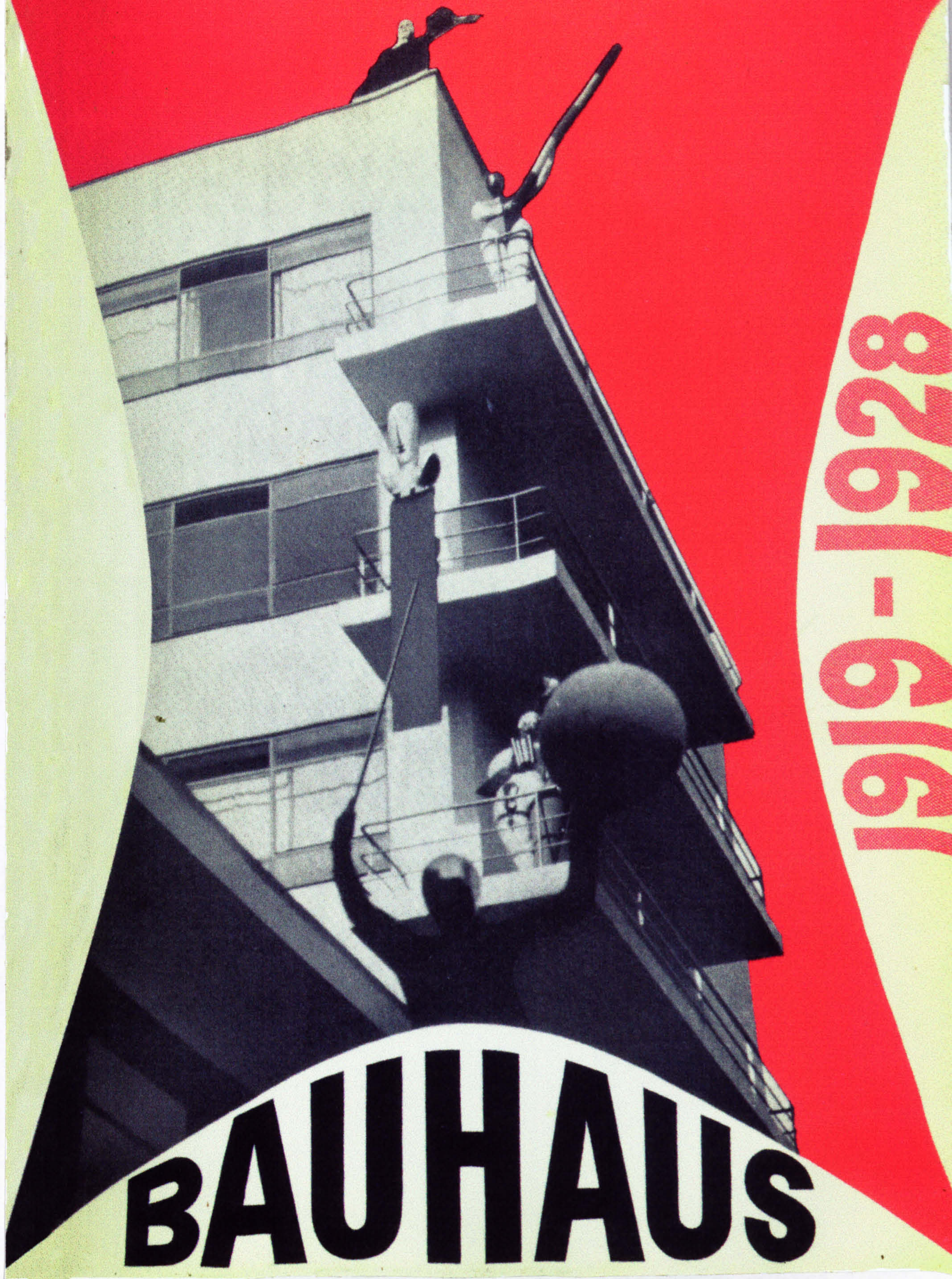
Like Benjamin, Gropius' use of publicity in the early stages of his career meant that he was well aware of the power and political potential of the mass-media. Unlike Benjamin, and through bitter experience, he eventually concluded that their political potential was to be avoided at all costs and this coloured his representation of the Bauhaus in the USA. The constant accusations made by its detractors that the Bauhaus was a den of revolutionary activity led Gropius finally to deny any political associations for the school whatsoever.

The fate of the Bauhaus was fought over in speeches, articles and, of course, Bauhaus publications. The first Bauhaus publication was its founding manifesto in 1919. By 1922 negotiations were under way for publishing the first Bauhaus books. The Bauhaus was to design and print them and the publisher was to fund the project by supplying the materials, paying labour costs and organising distribution. The Bauhaus attempted to obtain competitive quotes for this but was thwarted at first by inflation and the inability of firms to guarantee their prices.

The first Bauhaus publications were portfolio volumes on the work of various artists, including Bauhaus masters, which were published as the 'New European Print' portfolio series in 1921. The first publication for a broader public was the catalogue of the 1923 exhibition and the associated history of the first four years of the Bauhaus, both published by the Bauhaus Press (*Bauhausverlag*). In 1925 the Bauhaus Press became *Albert Langen München Verlag* and published fourteen volumes on individual Bauhaus masters and other significant modern figures (ill. 10.5). The first issue of the Bauhaus magazine was printed in December 1926 and the magazine continued to be published until 1931. The Bauhaus typography workshop printed large numbers of leaflets and advertising brochures. Some leaflets appeared as early as 1922. Much other material was printed by outside businesses. A book of Bauhaus press cuttings was published in 1924. This large body of Bauhaus publications formed an important source for the 1938 exhibition. It supplemented Gropius' extensive archive, built up over the fourteen years of the Bauhaus. Reconstructions of the Bauhaus in the USA were necessarily limited to those aspects of life and work at the

school that were capable of capture within text, the lithograph or photograph, had been thought suitable for archiving, for publication in Germany and were small and flat enough to be moved to the USA.

Despite the efforts by the exhibition organisers to collect together Bauhaus objects, the problems of organising an exhibition 5,000 kilometres away from the site of their original production therefore meant that priority had to be given to photographs. This, together with the original importance of publicity in generating the Bauhaus archive has predisposed the Bauhaus legacy largely towards two-dimensional visual images. The implications of the political situation, the international mobility of its key masters and therefore the necessary privileging of the mass-media in constructing its reputation could be said to have erased other aspects of the school, which were more difficult to document.



9.3 Herbert Bayer, front cover, *Bauhaus 1919-1928*, 1975 ed.

9.3 Dream-space: Representation of the Bauhaus Building

In the dream in which every epoch sees in images the epoch that follows, the latter appears to be wedded to elements of its history, that is, of a classless society.

Walter Benjamin *Gesammelte Schriften* (1972, 46-7)

The dominance of two-dimensional visual material, its novelty and in some cases, the influence of surrealism, give the 1938 catalogue, even today, a dream-like quality. The front cover (ill. 9.3) in particular portrays the Bauhaus in a surreal manner. It consists of a photograph of the Bauhaus building, whose roof and balconies are peopled by strange, dream-like figures which peer at the camera, slightly threateningly, from above. Each wears a mask. Each is performing a gesture using a prop with an ambiguous function. The lowest figure, its masked face in the darkness, one hand grasping a baton, another a globe, seems to hurtle towards the camera.

The camera's view from below places the Bauhaus figures and building in a dominant position in relation to the viewer, engendering a feeling of powerlessness and unease. A flat red sky (the only example of two-colour print in the catalogue), dominates the top and right-hand side of the image. The vertical correction of the camera means that the perspective view resembles that of a worm's-eye axonometric. The axonometric and the use of red were favoured by the Constructivists—Chernikov in particular, used

axonometrics as forms 'derived from the engineer' and in his *Fantasies*, when he used two-colour print, he chose red and black. This association subtly imbues the cover with connotations of cultural and political revolution. Finally, the convex curves forming three sides of the image distort the photograph itself into a flag-like shape. A double reading therefore emerges of the image—as a theatrical illusion and red banner; a dream-image and a political icon. In both instances the graphic design emphasises the two-dimensionality of the dream-image.

The content of the front-cover image also suggests the means through which surrealist estrangement and revolutionary action were to be achieved. Unlike the contents of the catalogue, which consist largely of images of artefacts produced in the fourteen years of the Bauhaus, the cover presents a 'dreaming collective' of people—the Bauhaus students (*Bauhäusler*)—and their 'dream-house'—the Bauhaus building. People and architecture, and not the industrial objects that the Bauhaus has become known for, dominate the cover. The message of the cover is that transformation of the architectural programme as well as its form stands as the key issue of the Bauhaus.

Nevertheless, the image exudes unease. The abstraction of the masks, costumes and postures makes the *Bauhaus students* appear impersonal and mechanistic. The figure on the middle balcony may well be a sculpture, not a human being; it is objectified. The figures seem active; one is ready to jump at the camera and the others look like semaphores. Obedient perhaps,

enacting a collectively choreographed script, the collective is nevertheless not in a state of distracted reverie.

Likewise, its 'dream-house' does not resemble the Benjaminian stereotype of an architectural dream-image as mythifying, historicised decoration. Instead, it is an image of technology's potential partially realised. Firstly, the Bauhaus building seems overtaken by the actions of its figures; the occupants, or rather their choreographer, seem in control of the use of the building; the photograph looks staged. Secondly, the building bears little decoration. Like the dress of its occupants, it stands for anonymity and abstraction. In fact, the architecture in this image may not, at first glance, deserve the title of dream-house at all. Free of adorning surfaces, it represents the realisation of revolutionary potential — the promise of democracy inherent in technology — formally and programmatically. In Benjamin's terms, its bare form parallels its inhabitation by a new generation of beings whose bodies too reject historical conventions of dress and facial character.

Yet, despite the reading of the cover as a symbol of revolutionary form and programme, it remains a dream-image. It presents the building not as an everyday space but as a theatrical backdrop. It does not show the everyday activity of the students but, rather like the Bauhaus exhibition itself, relies on symbolic representation of a spectacle to suggest that people can only fulfil the dream-image's revolutionary promise as fiction, as theatre. In fact, the figures occupying the Bauhaus building are all characters from Schlemmer's Triadic ballet. The decision by Bayer and the Gropius' to

represent the Bauhaus through architecture and theatre, rather than through one of the many objects in the exhibition, suggests that they were aware of this affirmation of architectural form and theatrical spectacle in the construction of the Bauhaus public image.

The cover image clearly implies that for the authors of the catalogue the role of the Bauhaus as an educational institution was to create a total environment within which new spatial and social experiments could be enacted. The selection of the image affirms that the Bauhaus was playing with human identity as well as with the design of artefacts. The new social relations shown in the photograph are not yet enacted as everyday reality, but instead present both architectural form and the human body as stripped of their traditional characteristics. The figures have no distinguishing gender identities, no race or age. Like machines, they are constructed from primary forms. With one exception (the figure on the roof) the masks have no apertures—no eyes, ears or mouths. They must therefore be blindly enacting a script which, symbolically at least, can involve no improvised communication between them. No sign of everyday occupation can be seen through the windows—like the faces of the figures on the balconies, the image of the building reveals little about its interior.

This makes the cover image a fascinating symbol—it is the Bauhaus dreaming. It points to the realms of the Lacanian Imaginary. Like the Lacanian ego, the Bauhaus building and its occupants are a collection of props from the bric-a-brac department, with no suggestion of an authentic, stable identity beneath the mask. The machine aesthetic is eroticised, both as

a source for architecture (the abstract form of the building) and for human identity (the abstract form of the masks and costumes). The Bauhaus workshops achieve the former, the Bauhaus theatre achieves the latter. In the Imaginary, the collective dreams its future identity outside the gender stereotypes of the Oedipal order, outside the stereotypes of conventional architectural programmes, outside formal stereotypes of traditional institutional buildings. Here, through fantasy it learns how to desire new social and architectural formations. The choice of this image for the cover of the catalogue privileges (and therefore eroticises) this aspect of the experiments of the Bauhaus and, through the publication process, presents it to a new dreaming collective—the new international readership of the culture of simulation.

THE THEORY AND ORGANIZATION OF THE BAUHAUS

by WALTER GROPIUS

Translation of *Idee und Aufbau des Staatlichen Bauhauses Weimar*.



Published in 1923 at the Bauhausverlag, Munich, during the 4th year of the Bauhaus at Weimar. A few paragraphs and occasional sentences have been omitted, for the sake of brevity. Many of the subheadings have been added.

20

The dominant spirit of our epoch is already recognizable although its form is not yet clearly defined. The old dualistic world-concept which envisaged the ego in opposition to the universe is rapidly losing ground. In its place is rising the idea of a universal unity in which all opposing forces exist in a state of absolute balance. This dawning recognition of the essential oneness of all things and their appearances endows creative effort with a fundamental inner meaning. No longer can anything exist in isolation. We perceive every form as the embodiment of an idea, every piece of work as a manifestation of our innermost selves. Only work which is the product of inner compulsion can have spiritual meaning. Mechanized work is lifeless, proper only to the lifeless machine. So long, however, as machine-economy remains an end in itself rather than a means of freeing the intellect from the burden of mechanical labor, the individual will remain enslaved and society will remain disordered. The solution depends on a change in the individual's attitude toward his work, not on the betterment of his outward circumstances, and the acceptance of this new principle is of decisive importance for new creative work.

The decadence of architecture

The character of an epoch is epitomized in its buildings. In them, its spiritual and material resources find concrete expression, and, in consequence, the buildings themselves offer irrefutable evidence of inner order or inner confusion. A vital architectural spirit, rooted in the entire life of a people, represents the interrelation of all phases of creative effort, all arts, all techniques. Architecture today has forfeited its status as a unifying art. It has become mere scholarship. Its utter confusion mirrors an uprooted world which has lost the common will necessary for all correlated effort.

New structural elements develop very slowly, for the evolution of architectural form is dependent not only upon an immense expenditure of technical and material resources, but also upon the emergence of new philosophical concepts deriving from a series of intuitive perceptions. The evolution of form, therefore, lags far behind the ideas which engender it.

The art of architecture is dependent upon the cooperation of many individuals, whose work reflects the attitude of the entire community. In contrast, certain other arts reflect only narrow sections of life. The art of architecture and its

9.4. Dream Images: The 1938 Exhibition Catalogue

technical reproduction can put the copy of the original into situations which would be out of reach of the original itself. Above all, it enables the original to meet the beholder halfway.

Walter Benjamin 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical
Reproduction' (Benjamin 1968a, 220)

The catalogue of the 1938 exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art has, through its one softback and three hardback reprints, become the most widely disseminated Bauhaus document and the most influential one in constructing the school's identity. The cover image of the 1938 Bauhaus catalogue suggests that not only the content, but the form and typography of the publication was carefully considered. The catalogue was a complex document, cleverly combining a variety of publication types, and addressing different readerships and levels of reader consciousness. It combined the formal types of book, magazine and catalogue with a modern, progressive typography, with effective results.

The catalogue used the format of the hardback book to suggest the status of a important, permanent historical object. To underline its historical ambitions, the information in the book was arranged as a succession of historical phases and a temporal progression through the years of the course. The main texts consisted of Barr's introduction, Dorner's history of the Bauhaus and Gropius' 1923 essay. This last text, having been translated

into English, had its original frontispiece reproduced at the top of its first page (ill. 9.4) and formed the main document conferring authority on the catalogue. Despite claims that the catalogue was not 'a retrospective history' (Bayer 1975, back cover), together these essays helped to legitimise its subsequent status as an official history of the Bauhaus and were designed to engage a readership interested in historical fact.

This history was, however, selective. The essays and the catalogue text avoided mentioning, wherever possible, the school's difficult relationship to German inter-war history. Although six pages were devoted to the problems leading up to the move to Dessau, they refer only to local difficulties, not to the wider political upheavals in Germany at the time. The only indirect reference to the political situation in Europe was a last minute 'blacking out' (ill. 10.4) of the names of those Bauhaus teachers (the most significant being Joost Schmidt) who were still in Germany and who might thus face persecution by the National Socialists. Such double circumspection was necessary because Germany was not yet at war and the USA was determinedly neutral, if not actively pro-German. The necessary denial of its political context shifted the focus of the exhibition to the Bauhaus' role as a design school and so encouraged a formal reading of its contents.

Within the overall structure of the historical text, the layout of the publication was like that of a magazine. Short, independent sections contained the work of different courses or identified particular activities at the school. Each section, like a magazine article, was no longer than two or three double-page spreads and did not require a long attention span. Where

text dominated, it divided into two columns with frequent sub-headings (ill. 9.4). Gropius had, in fact, added sub-headings to his essay to make it easier to read. The two-column layout gave an impression of a journal or newspaper rather than a book. It encouraged less focused or conscious reading and presented a publication format familiar to a lay audience.

The third and dominant formal type for the publication was its intended one—that of an exhibition catalogue. A profusion of images, all dated and accredited to their authors, dominated the publication. Consisting mainly of photographs, their subject matter suggested that objects, rather than images or text formed the real 'content' of the exhibition. Most of the photographs had, however, been photographed years earlier; very little photography seemed to have been carried out specifically for the catalogue.

The catalogue format encouraged distracted reading. Many of its sections had no explanatory text at all, only captions (for examples see ill. 3.2 and 5.2). It was possible to pick the book up and 'read' it for less than a minute at a time, or not 'read' it at all. In fact, like the process of moving through a building or retelling a dream sequence, the typographic structure of the catalogue meant that its groups of images could be experienced at different speeds, not necessarily in a linear manner, without immediate or conscious comprehension. The audience could certainly be called a 'dreaming collective' in that its reading could be distracted, partial and arbitrary, with no necessary raising of consciousness. The catalogue format was the most effective format for the subconscious absorption and reproduction of Bauhaus dream-images.

Finally, the font of the text (sans serif, with generous spacing between lines), the simple cropping of the images, the generous width of margins, and the brevity of the captions all emphasised the catalogue's ambition to come across as a modern production, aiming for fast comprehension. Indeed, once the work of the typography workshop had been introduced about two-thirds of the way through (ill. 7.2.1), Herbert Bayer switched to the Bauhaus convention of not using capital letters at all. The text continued entirely in lower-case until the bibliography and contents list.

By seeking out specific, though overlapping readerships, the publication format reinforced a broad and partially unconscious absorption of Bauhaus ideology. Its stiffness and weight reinforced the gravity and permanence required of a historical document; the page layout emphasised its popular appeal to the everyday reader; its typeface expressed its modern outlook and attracted a design-oriented audience; and its high image-content emphasised quick reading. Together, the typographic formats predisposed the reader towards a distracted semi-consciousness rather than a critical awareness, reinforcing a reading of the Bauhaus as a powerhouse of formal experiment.

This construction of a Bauhaus identity only partly reflects the school's history. The 1938 catalogue was produced five years after the school's closure and ten years after its authors departed from the school. It was a selective revision of the Bauhaus past. In the next two sections I focus on those representations in the catalogue which I argue show another Bauhaus history—one where dream-images became dialectical images promising and partially enacting change in political and economic practices of architecture.



Peter Röhl

Program of the opening celebrations of the Bauhaus at the German National Theater at Weimar, 1919

From the FIRST PROCLAMATION of the WEIMAR BAUHAUS:

The complete building is the final aim of the visual arts. Their noblest function was once the decoration of buildings. Today they exist in isolation, from which they can be rescued only through the conscious, cooperative effort of all craftsmen. Architects, painters and sculptors must recognize anew the composite character of a building as an entity. Only then will their work be imbued with the architectonic spirit which it has lost as "salon art."

Architects, sculptors, painters, we must all turn to the crafts

Art is not a "profession." There is no essential difference between the artist and the craftsman. The artist is an exalted craftsman. In rare moments of inspiration, moments beyond the control of his will, the grace of heaven may cause his work to blossom into art. *But proficiency in his craft is essential to every artist.* Therein lies a source of creative imagination.

Let us create a *new guild of craftsmen*, without the class distinctions which raise an arrogant barrier between craftsman and artist. Together let us conceive and create the new building of the future, which will embrace architecture and sculpture and painting in one unity and which will rise one day toward heaven from the hands of a million workers like the crystal symbol of a new faith.

The contract for the direction of the Bauhaus was concluded at Weimar April 1, 1919, between the architect Walter Gropius of Berlin and the office of the Hofmarschall of Weimar with the agreement of the provisional Republican Government of Saxe-Weimar (Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach) and the Departments of the Ministry of State.



The first Bauhaus Seal

Lyonel Feininger:
Woodcut from the first
proclamation, 1919



9.5. Ur-history: Medievalism as Symbol of Socialism

To the forms of the new means of production which in the beginning is still dominated by the old one (Marx), there correspond in the collective unconscious images in which the new is intermingled with the old.

These images are wish images, and in them the collective attempts to transcend as well as to illumine [sic] the incompleteness of the social order of production.

Walter Benjamin *Gesammelte Schriften* Vol. V (1972, 46-7)

Benjamin, like Marx, believed that the new technologies ushered in by industrial capital promised a new, classless society. However, he believed that the inequality of capitalist social relations and the class limits of the bourgeois imagination prevented this utopian potential from being realised. This led, in the first stage, to utopian desire appearing too early, as distorted dream-images. Dream-images adopted, conservatively in the first instance, unconsciously reproduced ur-historical imagery, representing a mythical classless society which was not yet possible in reality. In the second stage the image lost its ur-historical symbolism, which was replaced by contemporary symbolism of technology as utopia. The dream-image became a dialectical image and the first step of a collective awakening. The dialectical image was, however, capable of transforming only the collective imagination, not its patterns of behaviour.

The third and final phase in Benjamin's theory of dream-imagery consisted of the appropriation of utopian symbols for transformation into social practice. Through this sequence Benjamin extended Marx's belief that utopia had to be dreamed before it could be theorised and then realised. It had to be dreamed in a distorted form, through ur-historical symbols, before it could be dreamed through symbols of the present. Only when it was dreamed through the symbols of the present, and then entered consciousness as knowledge, could it be realised.

At the Bauhaus the most obvious example of the use of ur-historical imagery occurs in the first four years of its teaching. Unlike Benjamin's identification of Le Corbusier's example of the classical temple (see Chapter 3) as symbol of modern democracy, the distorted ur-historical imagery representing Bauhaus utopian desires originated in the Middle Ages. For Gropius, the Middle Ages provided (Gropius 1919) not only with symbol of a classless system of production (for which a classical model would have sufficed at the time) but, more importantly, a model of architecture as an all-encompassing mother of the arts:

Not until the political revolution is perfected in the spiritual revolution can we become free ... the rebirth of that spiritual unity which [once before] found expression in the miracle of the Gothic cathedrals.

Medievalism symbolised a spiritual revolution and union of the arts and technology in a single *Gesamtkunstwerk*, with architecture as its ultimate and most powerful expression. The divinity and unity of the cathedral,

combined with the non-alienated labour of the master-mason linked the concept of an unchallengeable superiority of architecture to the political liberation of a classless society.

The first Bauhaus historical document presented in the 1938 catalogue was the founding manifesto, written by Gropius in 1919 (Bayer 1975, 16, ill. 9.5). Originally published as a leaflet for mass-circulation, it was illustrated with a woodcut made by Lyonel Feininger. Important enough to be reprinted in the 1938 catalogue as a full-page reproduction (ill. 8.4), the woodcut showed a three-towered medieval cathedral lit by three stars, characterised by expressionist crystalline geometry and an absence of human figures. Feininger's cathedral was the first dream-image of the Bauhaus. Other works by Feininger, also inspired by Gothic forms appear later in the the catalogue (ills. 2.2 and 6.1).

The words of the 1919 manifesto reinforced its fervent medievalism. Gropius wrote, dramatically, that (Bayer 1975, 16, author's italics, my brackets) for the Bauhaus craftsman:

In rare moments of inspiration, moments beyond the control of his will, the grace of heaven may cause his work to blossom into art ... [and] will rise one day toward heaven from the hands of a million workers like the crystal symbol of a new faith.

When Gropius wrote that 'the complete building is the final aim of the visual arts' he followed (author's italics) by saying: 'Let us create a *new*

guild of craftsmen, without the class distinctions which raise an arrogant barrier between craftsman and artist.'

The faith in the socially redemptive power of medievalism was powerful in the Bauhaus community and characterised the first four years of its history. References were made to it by many ex-Bauhaus students. Benno Reifenberg, quoted by Lucia Moholy, (Neumann 1993, 245) stated that:

One ought to go back to Cluny and the willpower of highly-schooled monks in the tenth century, in order to find parallels. They held that next to the salvation of the soul was a secular order and accordingly they set their aims very far, almost as far as the regime of the Church ... The fascination of the name Bauhaus stems from faith in a reforming force, and architectural art does not intend to surrender.

Itten used works by medieval masters as inspiration for Vorkurs exercises (ills. 4.2 and 6.2).

Medievalism informed not only aesthetics but also social structure. Rejecting the superiority of the architect over the craftsperson, Gropius (Bayer 1975, 16) wrote in the 1919 manifesto: 'Art is not a 'profession.' There is no essential difference between the artist and the craftsman'. The model of the Council of Masters, who formed the main decision-making organ of the Bauhaus, was adopted from Otto Bartning's proposals for craft education based on medieval precedent and symbolised the school's ambition for collective self-government. Gropius also took the structure of

apprentices, journeymen and masters from Bartning. Tut Schlemmer, wrote (Neumann 1993, 165) that 'we started with almost medieval regulations on form, craftsmen, and apprentices.' The adoption of a hierarchy of apprentices, journeymen and masters of crafts to represent levels of progression in the school was derived from the medieval guilds and was intended to create a collegiate spirit within the school.

The founding manifesto also emphasised collaboration of masters and apprentices (not the case in the traditional academy), sharing of commissions by masters and apprentices, collective planning of utopian buildings, a commitment to everyday life and public dialogue through exhibitions. The manifesto also affirmed the importance of extra-curricular ceremonial activity in fostering a spirit of community, listing theatre, lectures, poetry readings and fancy-dress festivals.

The adoption of the medieval cathedral as ur-historical symbol represented the school's hopes for a social transformation through architecture. The elevation of architecture as the mother of the arts did not appear ironic or problematic in a political era where architecture could provide, theoretically at least, cultural capital for national politicians keen to show progressive ideals and practical solutions to pressing social needs.

Nevertheless, at a local level, the practical realisation of the collective medieval spirit through actual building was fraught with difficulty. Gropius tried (Droste 1993, 41-42) to establish the building department through an arrangement with the Weimar architecture and civil engineering school and

then through private teaching at the Bauhaus. The Weimar administration and initially also the Dessau City Council resisted this part of the Bauhaus proposals. The building department finally opened in 1927, nine months before Gropius left the school.

Gropius' skilful interweaving of medievalism, socialism and craftsmanship in the founding manifesto paralleled Benjamin's combination of mysticism (via his interest in the Cabbalah) and Marxist faith in the redemptive social powers of new technology. However, it also isolated the Bauhaus from the technological innovation of industry and social change in the political sphere. Feininger's woodcut and Gropius' text of the Bauhaus proclamation of 1919 was, at that time, a 'too-early' representation of the new society. Its combination of craft (woodcut) and industrial technology (mass-publication), could only anticipate the transformation of ur-historical dream-images into dialectical images and then technological and constructional practice. The transformation of ur-historical dream-images became possible only with a change of location, personalities, pedagogy and economy within and outside the Bauhaus.

they have completed the course of practical and formal instruction, they undertake independent research and experiment.

Modern painting, breaking through old conventions, has released countless suggestions which are still waiting to be used by the practical world. But when, in the future, artists who sense new creative values have had practical training in the industrial world, they will themselves possess the means for realizing those values immediately. They will compel industry to serve their idea and industry will seek out and utilize their comprehensive training.

The Stage

Theatrical performance, which has a kind of orchestral unity, is closely related to architecture. As in architecture the character of each unit is merged into the higher life of the whole, so in the theater a multitude of artistic problems form a higher unity with a law of its own.

In its origins a theater grew from a metaphysical longing; consequently it is the realization of an abstract idea. The power of its effect on the spectator and listener thus depends on the successful translation of the idea into optically and audibly perceptible forms.

This the Bauhaus attempts to do. Its program consists in a new and clear formulation of all problems peculiar to the stage. The special problems of space, of the body, of movement, of form, light, color and sound are investigated; training is given in body movements, in the modulation of musical and spoken sounds; the stage space and figures are given form.

The Bauhaus theater seeks to recover primordial joy for all the senses, instead of mere esthetic pleasure.

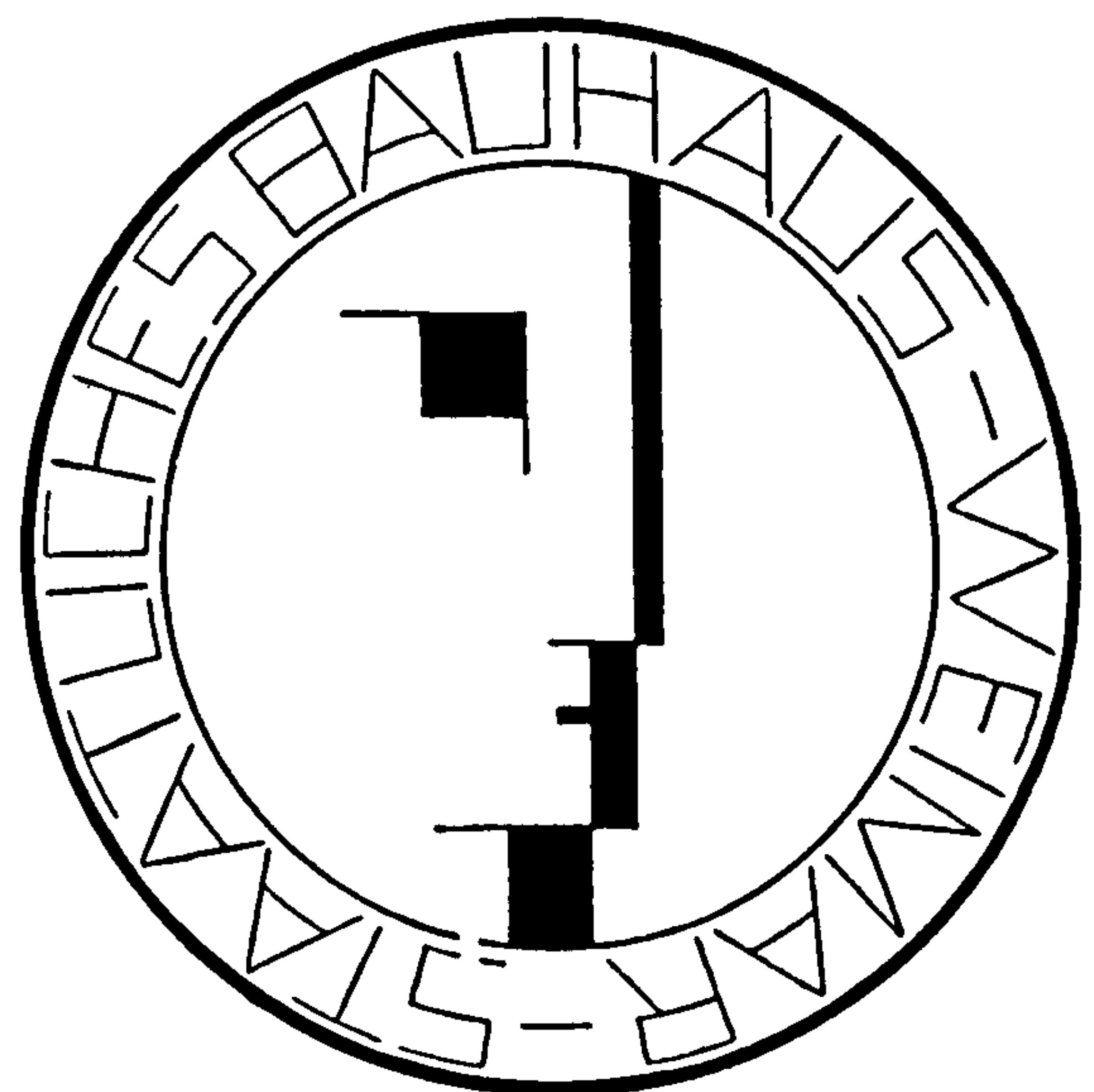
Conclusion: the Bauhaus in education

An organization based on new principles easily becomes isolated if it does not constantly maintain a thorough understanding of all the

questions agitating the rest of the world. In spite of all the practical difficulties, the basis of the growing work of the Bauhaus can never be too broad. Its responsibility is to educate men and women to understand the world in which they live and to invent and create forms symbolizing that world. For this reason the educational field must be enlarged on all sides and extended into neighboring fields, so that the effects of new experiments may be studied.

The education of children when they are young and still unspoiled is of great importance. The new types of schools emphasizing practical exercises, such as the Montessori schools, provide an excellent preparation for the constructive program of the Bauhaus since they develop the entire human organism. The old conservative schools were apt to destroy the harmony within the individual by all but exclusive headwork. The Bauhaus keeps in touch with new experiments in education.

During the first four years of constructive work, many ideas and problems have evolved from the original idea of the Bauhaus. They have been tested in the face of fierce opposition. Their fruitfulness and salutary effect on all phases of modern life have been demonstrated.



The later Bauhaus seal, designed by Oskar Schlömer, 1922

9.6. Dialectical Images: New Technologies

Craftsmanship and industry are today steadily approaching one another and are destined eventually to merge into one.

Walter Gropius Idea and Organisation of the Bauhaus
(Bayer 1975, 25)

From 1923 onwards Gropius replaced medieval references in his texts and speeches by referring to the importance of industrial technology rather than craftsmanship. This is represented in the 1938 catalogue by the 1923 essay 'Theory and Organisation of the Bauhaus'. Unlike the 1919 manifesto, the original front cover of the 1923 essay, reproduced as a vignette in the 1938 catalogue (ill.9.4), had no illustrations; its text was bold and simple.

The two notable illustrations were a text and a logo. The first was the famous circular Bauhaus course diagram (ill. 7.1), resembling a series of rotating wheels, which placed building and design at the centre of its four concentric layers of courses. All mention of art and craftsmanship was gone; practical building experience, building experiments, and building and engineering sciences formed the content of this last stage of the course. The second was Schlemmer's Bauhaus seal of 1922 (ill. 9.6) and contained the only figurative illustration—a head in half-profile. This figure, and the writing surrounding it, was highly abstracted, reduced to straight lines, as if produced on a drawing board.

The absence of illustrations in this text in the context of the 1938 catalogue makes it seem curiously free of fantasy. It is as if dream-imagery at the Bauhaus had become detrimental to its public image. The mysticism of 1919 and the surrealism of the 1938 cover was complemented by an appeal to industry to join forces with the school. Indeed the acceptance of a fundamental aspect of capitalist production—the division of labour—represents the difference in ethos of this phase of the Bauhaus in comparison to the Itten era. Gropius (Bayer 1975, 25, my italics) wrote that

if industry is to develop, the use of machinery and *the division of labour must be maintained* ... the Bauhaus does not pretend to be a crafts school. Contact with industry is consciously sought, for the old trades are no longer very vital and a turning back to them would therefore be an atavistic mistake ... the old craft workshops will develop into industrial laboratories: from their experimentation will evolve standards for industrial production.

The transformation of society sought and symbolised by the crystalline cathedral in 1919 was replaced by an emphasis on formal investigation and practical suggestions for the role of design in industry and social housing. The school reached this second stage in 1923, after the Thuringian administration, seeking 'results', had forced the 1923 exhibition on the school. By then Gropius had also reorganised the craft workshops and began to see their effect. He had also become increasingly frustrated by the backward-looking mysticism and romanticism of some of the staff, in particular Itten. Droste writes of this period (Droste 1993, 58) that 'in his

lectures Gropius sought a 'common denominator' in architecture; in the workshops, elementary forms and primary colours became the starting points for design'.

The 1923 essay emphasised the importance of technical and formal experiments for the design of mass-produced objects and in particular housing. Form and technology were to unite in the norm (Bayer 1975, 28):

Any industrially produced object is the result of countless experiments, of long, systematic research, in which business men, technicians and artists participate to determine a standard type.

Gropius later wrote (Gropius 1938, 27) that 'the existence of standards—that is the conscious adoption of type forms—has been the criterion of a polite and well-ordered society'.

Some Bauhaus masters, especially Itten and Marcks, were critical of Gropius' overtures to industry. Marcks wrote to Gropius (Gropius 1923b) on 23 March 1923 saying:

You know I only half support this idea (of an 'industrial Bauhaus'). I think people are more important than successful cutlery manufacture, and people develop through crafts.

Itten found the new developments so unpalatable that he left at the beginning of 1923 and Marcks stayed only to the end of the Weimar period one year later.

The shift towards standardisation and practical realisation forms the most notable element of the 1923 essay. Seen in this light, the typography and diagrams, free of decoration, represent a key moment in Bauhaus history when ur-historical utopian symbols were replaced by symbols of technology. Ur-imagery of an idealised medieval society no longer served.

Indeed Marx's statement, filed by Benjamin in his *Arcades Project* notes, which stated (Benjamin 1972, 217) that

only after further development of mechanics and the accumulation of practical experience does the form become totally determined by the mechanistic principle and thereby completely emancipated from the traditional physical form

could easily have come from the lips of Gropius at this time. In the 1923 essay (Bayer 1975, 20) Gropius made a statement that could, in turn, have come from the pen of Benjamin:

New structural elements develop very slowly, for the evolution of architectural form is dependent not only upon an immense expenditure of technical and material resources, but also upon the emergence of new philosophical concepts deriving from a series of intuitive perceptions.

The evolution of form, therefore, lags far behind the ideas which engender it.

Here we have, restated, Benjamin's thesis about the dreaming collective unconsciously dreaming its future ('intuitive perceptions'), its coming to consciousness of the potential of new technologies ('new philosophical concepts') leading to the transformation of technology itself ('new structural elements') and finally resulting in new social relations described by Gropius (20) as 'the interrelation of all phases of creative effort, all arts, all techniques'. It is possible to see the Bauhaus as aiming at the creation of a new collective imagination that, by harnessing new means of production, could lead to new creative practices.

However, Gropius felt that the realisation of utopian practices in Weimar Germany was not yet possible. In the 1923 essay (Bayer 1975, 28) he wrote that:

Since architecture is a collective art, its welfare depends on the whole community. As an extreme instance, the monument is only significant when it springs from the will of the whole nation. This will does not yet exist today.

The transformation of dialectical images into social and economic practices was yet to come, in the third and least documented phase of the Bauhaus — the period of Hannes Meyer, and as a response to growing external economic and political pressures. During this era, dream-images not only

became dialectical images that pointed to new forms of production, but, in the form of advertising, image production itself became part of the economic success of the Bauhaus.

administration

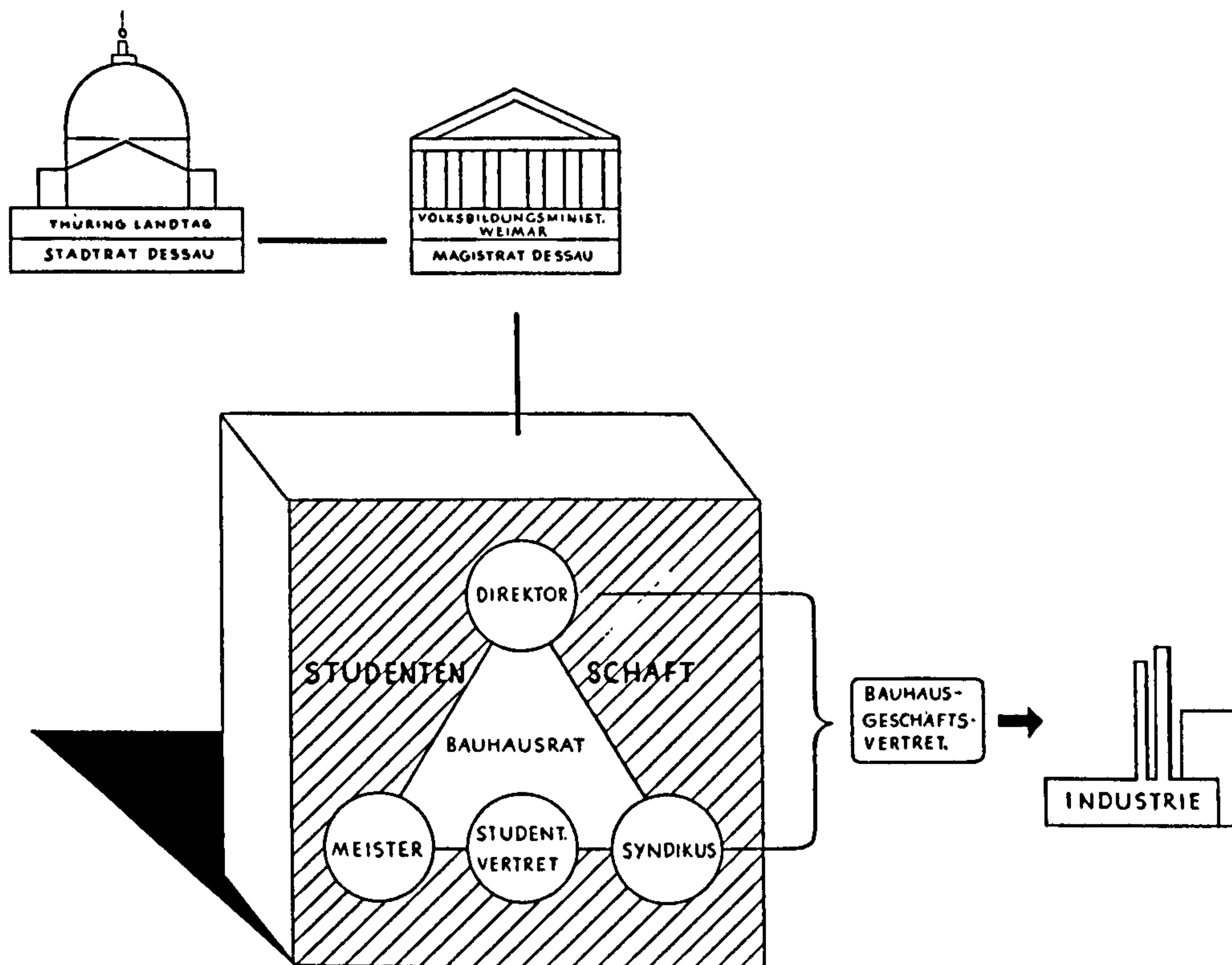
what authorities had to be consulted by the director when it was necessary to make important decisions affecting the internal conditions or external relations of the bauhaus? at weimar, the whole institute, including the director, was under the jurisdiction of the ministry of public education; at dessau, this authority was vested in the municipal council.

the annual budget varied between 130,000 and 200,000 marks. at weimar it was prepared by the minister of public education and submitted to the thuringian landtag; at dessau the budget was prepared by the municipal council and submitted to the stadtparlament. in the bauhaus itself, the director had far-reaching powers. he was given "full charge of the creative and administrative activities of the bauhaus." in the early years, the faculty had a nominal right to vote on vital decisions. in the belief that problems affecting creative work can never be solved by

a majority, the right to vote was discarded in subsequent statutes; in fact, decisions by majority vote were dropped altogether. full responsibility was granted to the director by a unanimous vote.

the statutes provided, however, that all decisions had to be preceded by discussion. all instructors and the student representatives had the right to participate in these discussions. the formal consultants were:

1. for the sale of models to industrial firms: the business manager (syndikus) who was in charge of the commercial activities of the bauhaus and later of the bauhaus corporation.
2. for problems of internal organization and teaching: the bauhaus council, made up of masters teaching problems of form and technical instructors in the workshops (the latter were included only at weimar), the business manager, and the student representatives.



The **Bauhaus band** started with the musical improvisations of a group of painters and sculptors on trips around Weimar. Accordion-music and the pounding of chairs, the rhythmic smacking of a table and revolver shots in time with fragments of German, Slavic, Jewish and Hungarian folk songs would swing the company into a dance. This dance music soon became known all over Germany and was played at artists' festivals everywhere; but since it could never be successfully transferred to paper, it remained gaily impromptu, even later when the instrumentation was expanded to include two pianos, two saxophones, clarinet, trumpet, trombone, banjos, traps, etc.

Ludwig Hirschfeld-Mack:
S Dance



EVERY MAN A MILLIONAIRE

The rapid devaluation of the German mark during the inflation years led to incredible grotesqueness in daily life. At the height of the economic crisis in 1923, money received in the morning had to be disposed of before evening of the same day for by that time it was likely to be valueless. When the Bauhaus Exhibition of 1923 opened, a million marks in paper money equaled in value one mark forty-seven pfennigs in gold. Four months later one reckoned in billions; a man paid for his lunch in billion mark notes. The one million mark note was designed by Herbert Bayer in 1923 for the State Bank of Thuringia. Two days later it was issued with the ink still wet.

10.1 Herbert Bayer, design for the Million Mark, 1923
Bauhaus 1919-1928, 1975 ed., p. 85

10.1. Economic Crisis

the elementary impulse of all national economy proceeds from the desire to meet the needs of the community at less cost and effort by the improvement of its productive organisations.

Walter Gropius New Architecture and the Bauhaus (1937, 24)

The first two phases of Bauhaus history, under Gropius' leadership, transformed dream-images into dialectical images and laid symbolic foundations for new social practices. Utopian ambitions were not realised at this time. Instead, images representing the potential of new technology spearheaded the commodification of signs. The Bauhaus' innovation in the sphere of practice at this time lay in its transformation of education into a business. Only in the third phase of Bauhaus history, under Meyer's leadership, was the utopian potential of dialectical images temporarily realised. At that point, the Bauhaus was able to transform the symbolic integration of signification and production into a practical integration of economic and social practices. Historical conditions beyond the school's control, which initially made this experiment possible, ultimately prevented its lasting success.

The 1938 catalogue, in keeping with its primary purpose as an exhibition document, did not mention the business activities of the Bauhaus.

However, the catalogue's paper book jacket (Bayer 1938, not incorporated

in the 1975 reprint) gave as one of the nine reasons for the importance of the school that it 'bridged the gap between the artist and the industrial system'.

In the 1923 essay Gropius also acknowledged (Bayer 1975, 28) the necessary co-operation of business in the Bauhaus project. This was not simply an idealistic statement but a practical one. It represented the financial pressures placed on the Bauhaus by the Thuringian government, which forced the Bauhaus to seek external funds through close collaboration with industry and marketing its own products. The need to shift from state to private support was not only the effect of local political pressure. In the hyper-inflationary post-war economy, when voters could barely feed themselves, the German state as a whole could not justify increasing education budgets. Moreover, the Allies' reparations demands, effectively for payments 'out of nothing', elevated design as an important generator of the higher exchange value needed for German products to compete in the international marketplace. Design was seen as potentially generating greater profits from a low original outlay—if it exploited the economics and technologies of machine production. The Bauhaus was therefore doubly under pressure—as an educational institution in a state system without money, and as a design school with economic potential.

By 1921 the economic crisis in Germany had worsened to such an extent that the Thuringian state was financially unable as well as politically unwilling to maintain even the basic funds that the Bauhaus needed to survive. Students experienced real privation, unable to pay for the cost of food and clothing. Despite financial donations from the Circle of Friends of

the Bauhaus and the produce of the Bauhaus kitchen garden, the food served in the Bauhaus kitchen was seldom nutritious and many students were malnourished. In 1921 Gropius wrote to all the masters (underlining the entire sentence, my internal brackets) that

the continued existence[of the Bauhaus] depends on whether the workshops are capable of producing an income in any way possible

Local conservative politicians in the state of Thuringia claimed that 'at the time of the foundation of the Bauhaus it was said that the school could eventually become fully self-supporting'. The first mention of this (general 1924a, 2, my translation) is in a document of a meeting between the Thuringian administration and the Bauhaus. Bauhaus students, however, (Neumann 1993, 72) claimed that such ideas were not, at first, prevalent at the school:

Even the industrial angle, the designing of new goods for mass production, so characteristic of later, was not 'taught' at first ...

This change came, as the form masters thought, prematurely and because of undue pressure from the legislature, which wanted to be able to show 'results' to their constituents. If promises of economic self-sufficiency had been made at the beginning, they were not, initially at least, followed through.

Bauhaus workshops did begin to copyright, patent and market their products already during the Itten era but some masters, and Itten in particular, resisted this process. The change of teaching emphasis away from the crafts and towards industrial technology, leading to the eventual formation of a Bauhaus business, took time. Its realisation was precipitated not by the Bauhaus itself but at least partly by the economic and political crisis within Thuringia, Germany and Europe generally.

In 1922, in the depths of economic crisis and hyper-inflation, the Thuringian government insisted that the Bauhaus present the products of the workshops in a public exhibition, threatening to withdraw a M (marks) 50,000 loan for workshops. Gropius was unhappy about such an early demand for results, but immediately instructed the workshops to begin producing prototypes for the exhibition. No new students were accepted for the spring semester so that masters and journeymen could concentrate on production. Production became a matter of institutional survival, not political idealism.

In August 1923, the first exhibition of Bauhaus work took place. Well publicised, it drew local, national and some international visitors. Although no architecture course existed, a built project formed part of the exhibition. The Haus am Horn (ill. 4.1), the winner of an internal competition, was designed by Georg Muche and built by students, under supervision of Gropius' partner Adolf Meyer, on land leased by the Thuringian government. Gropius raised the construction finances privately (from his friend Sommerfeld) in an attempt to draw attention to the potential of an

architecture department. The exhibition (and the house) were not generally well received (Droste 1993, 105) by the local population. The house forms an insignificant part the 1938 catalogue. The catalogue credits neither Muche nor Meyer with its authorship and instead describes Gropius' efforts in spearheading the fundraising only for the larger master plan of which the house formed part. Instead the catalogue focuses on the employment of the workshops (Bayer 1975, 72, my brackets)

on his [Gropius'] private architectural commissions, including the construction of the theater in Jena and the Sommerfeld residence in Berlin.

This suggests that the first attempt by the Bauhaus to produce the total environment central to the school's pedagogy was one that Gropius wanted to forget. Given the school's repeated claims that prototype and industrial production formed the central purpose of its pedagogy, the exclusion of the Haus am Horn suggests that, under Gropius' leadership, this may have been more rhetoric than desire, external coercion rather than internal will. Yet the imposition of external economic pressures led to important innovations in the organisation of production, which have hitherto remained undocumented in Bauhaus histories.

Fiscal crisis in particular initially propelled the Bauhaus towards an economic model resembling the later post-Fordist organisation of production and education rather than a Fordist one. The sections that follow suggest that proto- post-Fordism at the Bauhaus preceded and then

accompanied Fordist production principles, anticipating the dominant economic model today. These innovations need to be considered along with the well-documented formal and social experiments at the Bauhaus as an important part of the school's contribution to contemporary design pedagogy.

10.2. Bauhaus as Business: Experiments and Negotiations

Bauhaus products have now conquered the market. With the business suitably organised on a private-enterprise basis and the provision of sufficient working capital, there is nothing to prevent healthy sales.

Walter Gropius Report on the economic prospects of the Bauhaus
(Gropius 1924i)

Bauhaus financial affairs prior to the formation of Bauhaus GmbH were supervised by a syndic (*Syndicus*), who acted as an accountant and business manager and worked closely with Walter Gropius. In 1923, under pressure from the Thuringian administration, Gropius' made a proposal for the economic survival of the Bauhaus, where government funding of salaries and teaching spaces of the Bauhaus was to be supplemented by the transformation of the workshops into a business. The Bauhaus' reputation and further financial support would be ensured by creating a foundation of private patrons, Circle of Friends of the Bauhaus (*der Kreis der Freunde des Bauhauses*). Various formats for the privatised company were initially proposed. These included some workshops forming independent businesses and supplying a larger Bauhaus commercial enterprise (Gropius 1923c), and (undated-a) a public share-holding company (*Bauhaus Aktien Gesellschaft*).

Finally, in 1924 the Bauhaus began the legal process to found a limited liability company (GmbH—*Gesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung*), aiming

to separate the school's production from its teaching. The National Bank and the Thuringian government took part in the discussions as early as January 1924 and backed the project. Although the state considered becoming a company member, it did not (1924a) in the end do so. Understandably, the apportionment of fiscal responsibility between government, state bank, the businesses providing the start-up capital and the school itself, was the main topic of these discussions.

In March 1924 the Bauhaus formally requested the government to prepare legislation enabling the Bauhaus to form (1924b) its daughter company. In the finance plan (1924c) of 1924, the start-up capital of the company was intended to be gM (gold marks) 100,000. This amount increased (1924d) to gM 150,000 in the letter written by the founding members of Bauhaus-Weimar to the Thuringian government in November. Ten organisations invested into the start-up capital fund. The most significant contributor was J. Michael & Co., Berlin, who provided an interest-free loan of gM 50,000, followed by Adolf Sommerfeld, an old client and friend (Neumann 1993, 132) of Gropius, with gM 30,000 , and (Gropius 1924e) the General German Trade Union Congress (*der Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund*), with gM 15,000. Hélène Schmidt-Nonné explains the closeness of Gropius and Sommerfeld:

Alfred Sommerfeld was a well-established wood handler in Berlin and after the war he acquired a large quantity of teak from a ship that had recently been dismantled. Building materials were extremely scarce in

those post-war days, and with this timber he commissioned Walter Gropius to build him a house in Berlin.

In comparison, the entire school teaching budget that year was gM 60,000, of which sixty-five percent (Gropius undated-b) was salaries. The Bauhaus had 11 permanent employees: the director, four form masters, two craft masters, a secretary, a house manager and a typing clerk. Eighty-five percent of the teaching budget came from state finances. The remainder came from Bauhaus business activities and donations. Added to the start-up capital and the value of fixed assets such as equipment, this meant that in 1924 approximately 50% of the finance for the school and company came from private sources.

However, Gropius was careful to ensure that pedagogy still ruled both the politics and economics of the school's activities. In the draft founding contract of Bauhaus GmbH, he retained a role for himself as both company member and manager of the business. He also tried to safeguard the role of Bauhaus staff as employees of the state rather than of a private company, thus ensuring their salaries were not decimated by hyper-inflation. The new company was to be responsible for the workshop buildings and their running costs. As a state enterprise, the school was to remain responsible for the cost of other teaching spaces. The state was to take a minimum of 5% of the workshop profits in return for its support through its provision of fixed assets and salaries.

The finance plan affirmed the wish to accept trained journeymen into the Bauhaus and formalised the institutional support of Bauhaus craftsmen and of the Confederation of Central German Industrialists (*Mitteldeutsches Industrieverband*) for this initiative. Private business and unions were to be involved—as financial backers and as partners in apprenticeship agreements. The 1924 company plan tried to establish a broad range of support in order to solicit government approval—a reality that was to be short-lived.

The aim (Gropius 1924f, my translation) of Bauhaus GmbH was

the production and sale of items of everyday use, as well as the production of entire building projects according to the principles of the Bauhaus.

The production of architecture as the embodiment of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* formed a clear aim of Bauhaus business ambitions at Weimar. The start-up capital consisted of 120,000 marks, with 25,000 coming from the Thuringian government. The founding document and other material states that assets and debits from previous Bauhaus commercial activities, including fixed assets such as equipment, were included in the calculation. Of the seven members of the supervisory board (*Aufsichtsrat*), elected by the company members, the state of Thuringia had the right to be represented by two and the Bauhaus by one. School and state therefore had less than 50% of the total vote. However, a quorum was only reached when 50% of company members were present and represented at least 50% of the start-up

capital; as the state and the Bauhaus between them represented more than 50% of the sum (through the valuation of fixed assets), they formed the most powerful voting bloc. Any changes to the by-laws of the company could only be enacted by the votes of members holding a minimum of 75% of the start-up capital; here too, the state and the school dominated. Finally, Gropius was named as the first managing director and also became the ultimate authority as both signatory and public representative of the company, with the option to appoint a second managing director with delegated powers.

The apportionment of profit in the new company was ambiguous. It was intended to serve the interests of both the school and of the founding members. 10% went to the reserve fund until a certain proportion of the start-up capital had been reached (not specified in the documentation); then the salaries and commissions of the managing director and his representative, the supervisory board and the employees were paid; this was followed by the payment of dividends; and the remainder was used as desired by the meeting of the board. This last option allowed the board to approve special projects and thus use company profits for the development of the school. The company was not only a necessary structure for internal regulation and profit but also an exercise in public relations, persuading the Thuringian government of the practical economic effects of the school's design and production pedagogy.

By the time Bauhaus GmbH was formed, the Bauhaus had been buying designs from its students and journeymen, had been earning some royalties

from its wallpaper and weaving designs, and had an informal structure for rewarding both masters and apprentices for their work. Gropius claimed that by 1924 most of the workshops were working to full capacity producing products for sale and that in the six months from April to September 1924 the workshops has sold goods (Gropius 1924g) to the value of gM 25,000. In Bauhaus accounts dated July 1924, the weaving workshop was shown as generating an income of gM 12,449 (nearly 50% of total workshop income). The weaving workshop had been the first to see its products go into mass-production. The pottery came second with gM 7,298, followed by the woodworking workshop with gM 4,991. The creation of Bauhaus therefore formalised informal production arrangements already underway at the Bauhaus.

10.3 Bauhaus GmbH: Education as Production

The move to Dessau caused the Bauhaus to come out of the experimental stage almost overnight because of major contracts which familiarised the students with the practical aspects of building.

Karl-Georg Bitterberg Bauhaus (1975, 5)

The Bauhaus' attempt at Weimar to fight politics with economics through the formation of a company making the school relatively independent of state funding was ultimately unsuccessful. Political pressures had always taken priority in the regional government's relations with the school and they supervened again; following the right wing swing in the state elections in April 1924, amidst severe criticism of the Bauhaus and Gropius in particular, the regional administration cut the budget of the school by fifty percent. This was openly considered by supporters like Max Greil, a former public education minister (Droste 1993, 113), to be an attempt to strangle the school to death. In a letter to the Thuringian government, dated 19 October 1924, Gropius accused it of enmity towards the school and stated that uncertainty was damaging the viability of both the school and the company. In December 1924, in anticipation of further hostility, Bauhaus masters decided not to renew their own contracts and in April 1925 the Thuringian government fulfilled the anticipated threat—the Bauhaus contract was not renewed.

Gropius had foreseen the crisis and had been negotiating with the number of new patrons in other locations. In 1925 he accepted the invitation to move the Bauhaus to Dessau. At Dessau, Bauhaus GmbH was immediately re-formed, this time to fulfil its first significant order—to supply furniture and fittings and administer the contracts for the new Bauhaus school buildings and masters' houses.

The move to Dessau had not been solely an idealistic one. 'Education as business' formed a central part of the negotiations with the Dessau administration. Magdalena Droste writes (1993, 161) that in his discussions with Dessau Mayor Fritz Hesse Gropius' presented over-optimistic projections for future Bauhaus private income and that this was later the real cause of the economic and political problems at the Bauhaus, and not the shortage of state funds as Gropius later claimed.

However, in the move to Dessau, Bauhaus GmbH finally had a significant client—the school itself. Hélène Schmidt-Nonné, a student at the time, noted the new business ethos. The Bauhaus focused on the production of furniture and objects for its new home. The buildings, interestingly, were designed by Gropius' office and built by private contractors—the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, once again, was not to be. Until the buildings were ready (Neumann 1993, 135):

workshops were accommodated ... in some warehouse belonging to a wholesale firm, while Gropius' office, the business management—the Bauhaus was now registered as a limited liability company—and some

of the classrooms found space in the old State Arts and Crafts School in the Mauerstrasse.

The new buildings in Dessau, which opened in 1926, finally provided good production facilities and the workshops were reorganised. Unprofitable glass, stone and wood workshops combined into a single sculpture workshop. The school acquired a new printing workshop for composition and printing, which from then on produced a great deal of marketing publications for the Bauhaus and outside firms. The amount and quality of new equipment in the highly profitable weaving workshop increased significantly. Gunta Stadler-Stölzl (Neumann 1993, 138) noted:

The very well-equipped workshop at Dessau (unlike the one at Weimar) contained the most varied looms, so that the training of the students for design and programme work in industry was possible.

The structure of the new Bauhaus GmbH was simpler than the old one and represented a further separation of the school business from its state paymasters. This time the start-up capital was provided almost entirely by Gropius and Adolf Sommerfeld and associated legal rights and responsibilities referred to the two of them alone. In an undated draft contract (Gropius undated-c) for the foundation of Bauhaus-Dessau GmbH, Gropius was to pay in gM 5,000 and Sommerfeld gM 15,000 (hyper-inflation had ended, hence the lower figures), with a corresponding share in profits. A further maximum contribution of gM 20,000 was allowed from other company members, but these were to be denied any legal rights in the

company other than, presumably, voting rights in meetings. Gropius and Sommerfeld were effectively in control.

The company structure also changed — the advisory board had gone and the decision-making body now consisted of the managing director (elected by the members) and the company members themselves, who now had to control three fifths of the start-up capital to form a quorum. This significantly reduced external influence on Bauhaus finances and was much closer to a conventional business of the period. The managing director — Gropius was, not surprisingly, elected to the position — was relieved of responsibility for the annual accounts once these had been approved by the company members. The apportionment of profits returned 5-10% to the start-up fund, in accordance with the projected ten year pay-off period, After the payment of salaries, the remaining profit was to be shared between company members. Special not-for-profit projects, although still possible in the Dessau contract, took a back seat. The new company was more concerned with producing profits for its members; its role as a source of development funding was reduced.

The company aims also changed. The contract now emphasised sole selling rights, the production of prototypes and marketable products and, for the first time, their marketing. The Bauhaus had realised the importance of publicity in its financial success. The expansion of marketing was accompanied by a contraction in architectural projects. Involvement in property became far more specific and limited; the contract required approval of company members for procurement of land and assignment of

leases longer than one year. No mention was made of building construction. Bauhaus GmbH was becoming a pure business organisation, geared towards profitability and product sales, rather than a means to realise the *Gesamtkunstwerk* of earlier years.

Gropius later asserted that financial pressures had prevented him from setting up the architectural project office within the Bauhaus curriculum during his leadership, but this is contradicted by his actions. When approached with opportunities for design and construction of buildings, he repeatedly took these into his office rather than into the Bauhaus workshops and later the building department—had they really been too expensive to realise this move would not have made sense. The ease with which Meyer established this when he came to power suggests that other reasons may have played a part. Indeed, Meyer, just prior to gaining office as Director, complained (Droste 1993, 167) that:

for 3/4 of a year now we have done nothing but theory in our building department and have to sit and watch while Gropius' private practice is permanently busy.

A further fiscal innovation at this point was to institute a contract (Gropius 1925b) between the Bauhaus and Bauhaus GmbH. This gave Bauhaus GmbH exclusive rights of sale and 20% of income in return for administration of the sales. It retained the Bauhaus name as the property of the school, although this was shared by Weimar until April 1926. The school and the company were jointly financially responsible for advertising

and publicity. Gropius (Wingler 1980, 98) 'as company member, and also as director of the Bauhaus united the two concerns' and therefore had the final word on product development. Development was to favour, as much as possible, products that could be legally protected against breach of design copyright; copyright remained with the school. The school was responsible for costs associated with copyright and for the legal agreements between individual designers and the school. This meant that each design had to be copyrighted—defined and systematised—and valued so that its price could be determined.

Gropius soon realised that the position of business manager required full-time attention. In 1923 he had appointed a book-keeper/manager but this post did not encompass strategic financial planning; in 1925 the workload was such that Gropius appointed a managing director as his representative. The contract (Gropius 1925c) stipulated a monthly salary plus a commission of 5%, with a 'no competition' clause. The contract also precluded any kind of artistic or taste judgement from the responsibility of the post; this was to be left to Gropius alone. Design was controlled by Gropius and marketing was led by the managing director.

This transition to full business status also led to changes in Bauhaus organisation. Taylorisation took place. Strict procedures were established (Gropius undated-d) for all dealings with external businesses, such as handling mail, ordering and delivering raw material, stock taking and invoicing. For example, to avoid individual liability, no business mail was sent under a specific name. Mail was, instead, signed in the name of

Bauhaus GmbH. Quality control of received materials was likewise certified by sign rather than signature. Losses in income due to incorrect procedures were charged to each workshop account, not to individuals, implying collective responsibility for maintaining profits.

Workshops were also permitted to carry temporary debts. Direct sales by workshops were forbidden and were punished by re-invoicing the buyer a second time, forcing the buyer to recover costs from the workshop individuals making the unauthorised private sale. In contrast, as an incentive to bringing in business to the Bauhaus company, an individual commission of 2.5% was payable by the company to an individual or group for securing a Bauhaus contract leading to payment.

Prices were calculated on a labour-plus-materials basis, with an additional percentage for the workshop, ranging from 35% for the metal workshop to 10% for the printing workshop. Any workshop set higher prices if the market would bear them. The company's share of profits varied with the type of sale, in proportion to the anticipated administrative load. Bauhaus GmbH took 10% of the profit on the sale of licences, 20% on one-off commissions, and 5% in addition to both of these as a contribution to repaying start-up capital. Some designs were bought outright for a one-off lump-sum (*Pauschale*).

The remainder was divided between Bauhaus GmbH and the relevant workshop. Out of this sum, the workshop had to pay its workers a

minimum of 25% of the sums received. Marianne Brandt, one of the most successful Bauhaus designers, wrote (Neumann 1993, 106):

[o]f the commissions that we got for our models, the Bauhaus, as far as I can remember, got half; the rest was divided equally among master, designer, and workshop. We also got part of the proceeds of our Sunday guided tours through the house.

For product lines bought with a lump-sum, the Bauhaus GmbH and the workshop divided the profit between themselves. The workshop paid its workers a minimum of 25% of this amount. For licences 2.5% went to the designer (according to internal Bauhaus contracts) and the rest was divided equally between workshop and Bauhaus. The latter made a small contribution (2%) to a welfare fund.

Accounts were due quarterly, and formed the basis on which profits were calculated. Workshops received payment only when they were in profit and when the necessary paperwork for both the order and the employee (tax and national insurance) had been completed and the hours worked recorded in a workbook. Each workshop had to keep a record of experiments and prototype productions, with numbered and written descriptions, drawings and calculations to identify each one. Payments were made on Saturday between 11am and 1pm in the workshops.

The function of Bauhaus GmbH was to work with the school to establish the exchange value—the price and profit—of Bauhaus designs, organise

their production (whether in the Bauhaus workshops or elsewhere), jointly market them (using the Bauhaus typography workshop), and sell them. On paper, at least, Bauhaus GmbH had no aesthetic influence on the nature of design. In his dual role as director and business manager Gropius had the final say on design and price. The state had no role to play whatsoever. The refinement of the contractual arrangements at the Bauhaus demonstrated the desire of the school to privatise its activities, to provide relative autonomy and individual responsibility for its workshops and to increase profitability through design, copyright and marketing. This structure of organisation did not follow the dominant economic model of the period—Fordist mass-production—and more closely resembled its successor—post-Fordist flexible specialisation.

- a

anonymous: studies in contrast, given: a cross
- b

anonymous: studies in contrast, given: form of letter T
- c

anonymous: studies in illusion of distance and proximity for purposes of layout and display, given: form of letter z, free choice of additional elements
- d

anonymous: studies in composition, given: seven bars of equal size
- e

anonymous: studies in composition, given: nine squares of equal size
- f

anonymous: studies in thematic and optic contrasts



10.4 Post-Fordism

The school is only the servant of the workshop, it will one day merge with it ...

Walter Gropius Bauhaus Curriculum (1919f)

Although Gropius had been interested in principles of mass-production since his membership of the *Werkbund*, he initially rejected economic and social models for the Bauhaus which were based on mass-organisations. In his very first lecture to the school he stated (Wingler 1980, 36) that he wanted to see

No large spiritual organizations, but small, secret, self-contained societies, lodges. Conspiracies will form which will want to watch over and artistically shape a secret, a nucleus of belief, until from the individual groups a universally great, enduring, spiritual-religious idea will rise again, which finally must find its crystalline expression in a great *Gesamtkunstwerk*.

Consequently, the individual craft workshops at the Bauhaus started as small, relatively autonomous production spaces. The pottery workshop, for example, was located as far away as Dornburg (ill. 6.0). Each workshop arranged its own orders of materials and machinery, and each negotiated its own independent sales. Due to a shortage of more sophisticated machinery a lot of time was spent on hand-worked elements. Initially, the labour in the

workshops was limited, consisting of a master of form, a master of crafts, usually one journeyman and several apprentices. They all worked together on external commissions. Later, as the pressure for workshops to be economically viable became more intense, masters of production, with book-keeping skills were added.

Medievalism animated the German trade union movement of the period. The Bauhaus aligned its organisation of production with the medieval model and thus initially stood directly counter to the Fordist assembly line being introduced in German industry at the time. The Bauhaus tenet, to take craft skills and imbue them with a spiritual and artistic significance, fundamentally opposed Fordism's dependence on mass-production, the division of labour, de-skilling, large financial investments in material and product stocks, and the production line itself. The model adopted at the Bauhaus represented far more closely the team-based 'Nissanisation' production structures and the targeted marketing of post-Fordism .

As the national economy worsened, and the state was able to fund neither the teaching programmes nor the plant and material that made production possible, the survival of the Bauhaus increasingly depended on its private commercial initiatives. Josef Albers (Neumann 1993, 206) wrote:

Ladies and gentlemen, we are poor, not rich. We can't afford to waste materials or time. We have to make most of the least.

The moment of truth came in 1922, when the Thuringian government made it clear to the Bauhaus that it wanted to see visible products, presented to both the administration and the public. Economic and political accountability finally led to the emphasis, in the 1923 exhibition, on prototypes for production.

Production and sales had been a site of struggle for the Bauhaus with its state paymasters from the beginning. Whilst the workshops were trying to compete in the marketplace, with all the pressure towards lower prices this implied, the school did not have sufficient financial backing from the state to acquire the equipment or material bulk-orders necessary to reduce costs. The loans supplied by the Staatsbank and the Landeshauptkasse, although significant (gM 25,000 in 1924—almost 20% of the workshop budget), did not suffice, and came burdened with the extremely high interest rates of the period. The Bauhaus, like much of German business at the time, was seriously under-capitalised, and therefore could not meet the orders that were placed.

Economic under-performance came hand in hand with political problems. Although the Bauhaus had not been popular with the citizens of Weimar from the beginning, by 1923, meetings of the Thuringian government administration, seriously cast doubt upon the future of the Bauhaus. In a letter dated November 1924 and written by the founding members of the Bauhaus to the Thuringian government (Gropius 1924b), protesting against the open talk of closing the Bauhaus, economic reasons were cited as the chief cause of the difficulty of continued financial support for the school.

Although this was clearly not the only reason, by the end of 1924, the economic situation had reached its lowest ebb; the Bauhaus and its suppliers had great difficulty obtaining any credit whatsoever. This led to severe problems in all areas of commercial production in the school, to the closing down of several workshops and a further decline in orders.

The solution to the financial crisis and lack of state commitment offered by the Bauhaus to the Thuringian government was far greater economic independence for the school. Gropius proposed a partnership between government and industry, supported by broader cultural patronage. Industry was to provide investment capital and the state fixed assets and labour costs. Cultural patronage through the Circle of Friends, by broadcasting the high reputation of the school was to act, in effect, as a marketing department.

These were radical proposals for the period, born of economic and political crisis, and clearly represented the shift of not only school pedagogy but also of its economy away from state support towards an embryonic post-Fordist structure more responsive to market forces. The proposals suggested a partial privatisation of a state concern in an era otherwise characterised by collectivisation, and so heralded economic changes that were to come to fruition some sixty years later. The proto- post-Fordist model was possible for a number of reasons. The first was the unique nature of Bauhaus labour—its students and staff.

In 1925 Wilhelm Neckar, the last Syndikus (*Syndic*) of the Bauhaus (Gropius 1925d, my translation and brackets within the quotation), wrote:

Here [in the Bauhaus] is also missing that fear of machine-work still present in skilled workers and designers in larger factories.

The designers, craftspersons and other workers in the workshops, having been educated to integrate industrial production as the source of design, were not afraid of mechanisation and its association with de-skilling and exploitation.

Although the Bauhaus was promised support from the General German Trades Union Congress, its staff and students were not unionised. Bauhaus by-laws which ensured that apprentices and journeymen stayed with the same workshop and followed guild rules for each craft encouraged the formation of small teams to carry out specific commissions. More importantly, Bauhaus masters and students, crossing between design and production, bypassed Fordism's fragmentation and alienation of labour and therefore prefigured the 'flexible' workforce of post-Fordism.

Workshop production resembled post-Fordist team-work. Gunta Stadler-Stölzl (Neumann 1993, 138) wrote that:

[t]he connections between the various Bauhaus workshops, which made it possible to work jointly on large commissions, opened for the student a view of the whole and of his particular task—and much more.

She continued, describing not only the collaboration between workshops but the grasp by the student of production and cost estimation; each student was thus introduced to all the phases of the process:

I should like to stress especially that the coexistence of a workshop for training and a workshop producing things for profit had a good influence on the student. He had concrete tasks set before him; from the beginning he had the correct index of efficiency and he had responsibility with respect to materials and tools. Calculation of the fabric and also calculation of a handicraft enterprise gave the student practice such as certainly few schools can offer.

The Bauhaus recognised the need to raise the external reputation of the school. During the period of uncertainty before the Weimar elections, as a response to the threat of a cut in finance, Gropius established (Gropius 1924h) a Circle of Friends of the Bauhaus (*der Kreis der Freunde des Bauhauses*) to seek 'moral or, under certain circumstances, financial support'. Once the Bauhaus moved to Dessau, this group grew to over 400 people, with by-laws and a Board of Trustees (*Kuratorium*) of ten to twenty people. Although only very few of the members of the Board (Gropius 1925e) were business people—in 1925 this included Peter Behrens, Hendrikus Berlage, Marc Chagall, Albert Einstein, Josef Hoffmann, Oskar Kokoschka, Hans Poelzig and Arnold Schönberg)—in 1925 alone (Gropius

1925f) the circle raised gM 7,800—approximately eight percent of the Bauhaus' annual budget).

In Dessau the school also recognised that marketing could stimulate consumption, adding advertising to the printing workshop (ills. 5.3, 7.2.1 and 7.2.2). The school began to market Bauhaus GmbH aggressively (Droste 1993, 134, my brackets) through exhibitions, trade fairs, trade catalogues, magazine articles and its own publicity material:

One of its [the company's] first actions was to print a 'Catalogue of Designs' containing short descriptions and a photograph of all the main Bauhaus products available. The catalogue was designed by Herbert Bayer and printed at the Bauhaus.

The printing workshop was led, for the remainder of Gropius' leadership, by Herbert Bayer and then, in the Meyer era, by Joost Schmidt. It established a consistent corporate image for Bauhaus commodities and publicity, tying together the disparate productions of the craft workshops.

Ute Brüning claimed (Brüning 1988, 154) that the Bauhaus was the first school to introduce graphic design as both career and subject. Bayer, despite teaching graphic design through work on actual commissions, also taught design courses such as 'effects on consciousness' and 'systematics of advertising'. The advertising workshop was where the dependence of marketing on both unconscious processes and conscious understanding of the systems of sign production were united and the most active invention

and codification of signs took place. Bayer was therefore also best poised to organise the 1938 exhibition and catalogue, and to control the different perceptions of the project by an international audience.

With the emergence of facilities for marketing itself, and also external companies, the business world began to take the school seriously. The printing and advertising workshop worked only on live projects, producing brochures, catalogues and posters for other businesses as well as Bauhaus GmbH and the school itself. In the 1938 MoMA exhibition catalogue, apart from studies of typefaces, every illustration in the section describing the typography workshop is an item of commercial advertising.

The growing importance of advertising was also partly due to the improvement in the German economy after 1924, which led to relations between the school and industry improving significantly at this time.

Hannes Beckmann (Neumann 1993, 210) writes that

when Gropius requested a few yards of steel tubing from the Mannesmann Werke for experimental purposes, he was told that there was no material available for such childish purposes. Later, however, industry changed their attitude considerably.

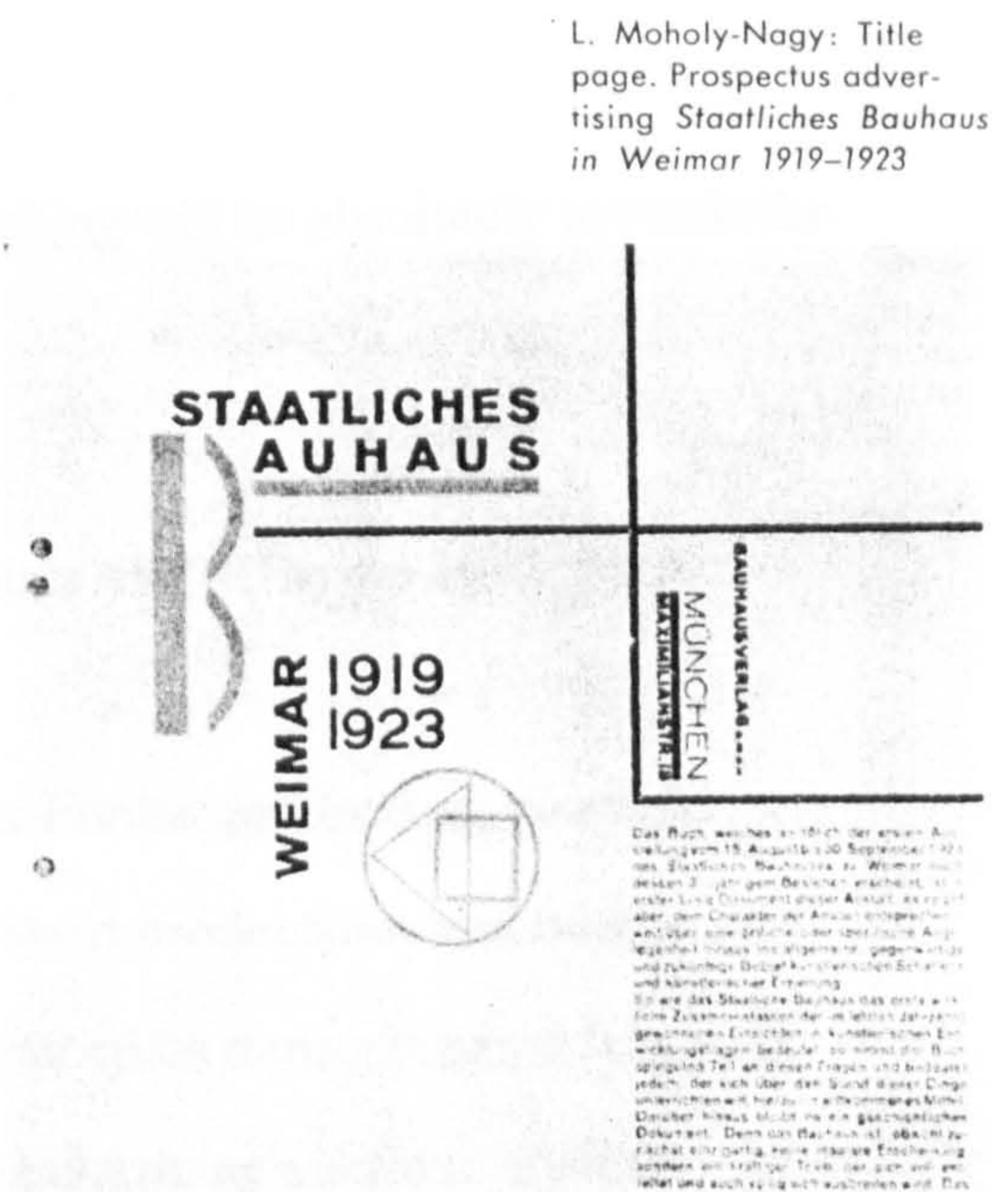
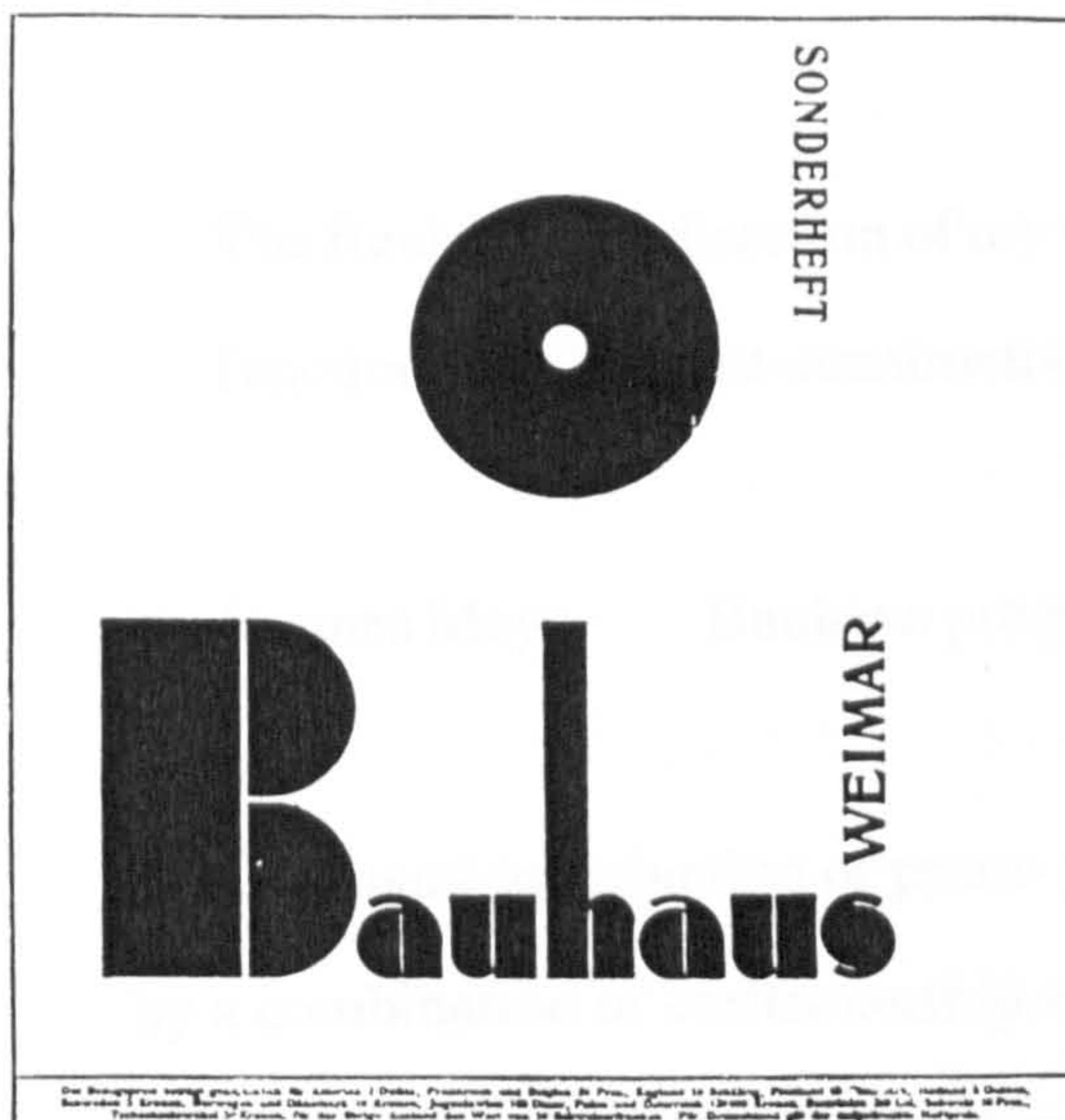
Junkers, for example, provided much of the tubular steel that Breuer used for his experiments with furniture in the Dessau joinery workshop.

Marketing of Bauhaus products also took place through exhibitions, whether these were initiated by the Bauhaus or part of conventional trade fairs. Trade fairs were very successful in bringing in work—the Bauhaus exhibited at the lucrative Leipzig trade fair from 1924 onwards. Already in 1924 the Bauhaus was selling its products in a number of shops, including some in Berlin, and generating substantial enquiries. Although, due to shortage of funds, the workshops sometimes failed to deliver to deadlines, as Germany recovered from its economic crisis after 1924, Bauhaus sales improved. The general increase in building construction meant that new markets were forming. Completed buildings furnished with Bauhaus products acted as free exhibition venues. The Bauhaus was confident it had the right designs and properly-targeted advertising for the new mass-market. In 1924 the Bauhaus still did not have the equipment to be able to supply its products cheaply enough and in sufficient number. Only later, under the directorship of Hannes Meyer, did this become possible. The rise in the volume of orders attests to the ability of the Bauhaus marketing department to attract commissions, despite the problems of production and delivery.

By 1925 all Bauhaus products were marked with the sign 'Bauhaus Dessau' and protected by copyright. The name of the school was thus finally transformed into a commercial product. In labelling commodities, the name became a commodity itself. The successful embodiment of a complex set of aspirations and a body of products in the Bauhaus name, was reinforced, as Mies later said, by its simplicity. The logo was backed by a consistent corporate image established within the printing and advertising workshop

and reproduced in Bauhaus publications. Careful control of such marketing strategies, as much as the actual products themselves, formed part of the Bauhaus' growing success between 1925 and 1929.

Herbert Bayer was central to this enterprise. His collaboration on the 1938 exhibition and catalogue ensured that the typographic 'house style' was maintained and that the exhibition and publication reinforced the continuity of identity which had hitherto established the Bauhaus' international visibility. The recognition of the importance of a corporate image for the school was not unusual in a culture where the National Socialists extended the concept of corporate identity to a wide range of artefacts including buildings, uniforms and the mass-spectacle. However, the intensity of the Bauhaus' combination of design education (codification of signs), commodity production (absorbing function into signification) and marketing (sign reproduction and circulation) was unique for a teaching institution of the period. Bauhaus GmbH's proto- post-Fordist model of small teams of flexible workers generated a diversity of products in short production runs. These products were targeted through a carefully managed corporate identity at a diversity of markets and emerged from the school's understanding of the importance of the mass-media in economic activity.



THE 14 VOLUMES OF THE BAUHAUS PRESS



10.5. Fordism and After

The fundamental direction of my teaching will be absolutely towards the functional-collectivist-constructive.

Hannes Meyer Bauhaus programme 1927 (Droste 1993, 166)

The Bauhaus' introduction of proto- post-Fordist production, characterised by a combination of craftsmanship and short production runs, had, in part, been a necessary response to the economic crisis during the first five years of its history. Economic chaos precluded Germany's serious involvement in industrial mass-production until 1924, when Ford opened his first factory and the first Model T car rolled off its production line in Cologne. The heavy investment in production infrastructure necessary for Fordist production was not possible for German industrialists during the hyper-inflation years. When the economic situation improved from 1925 onwards, output improved dramatically.

In the Bauhaus, workshop production rose in the stabler Dessau years, initially due to the commissions for the new school buildings and later due to successful marketing leading to contracts with manufacturers (ill. 4.3). The first tasks were still mainly one-off commissions but as the Bauhaus business developed, mass production of certain Bauhaus products became possible. The pattern of production at the Bauhaus thus followed the pattern of increased productivity in the general economy, reaching a peak just before the 1929 Wall Street Crash.

Gropius often made verbal commitments to mass-production, in particular in relation to housing. The Bauhaus Syndikus, Wilhelm Neckar wrote to Gropius in 1925 (Gropius 1925g, my translation) that 'the key is the realisation of mass-production'. He stated that the public was ready for Bauhaus products (in this case kitchen furniture) with their better use of space demonstrable through clearly articulated advertising. He asserted, however, that the Bauhaus was by no means yet ready to produce such items. Henry Ford's motor car was invoked as an example that the Bauhaus should aspire to in the long term. During the Gropius years the Bauhaus was able to use image production to stimulate the consumption end of the Fordist economy but did not have the capital or business partnerships to participate in mass-production of its designs.

Mass-production, including that of housing, only became a part of Bauhaus activity under Meyer's leadership. The building department was founded in 1927, six months before Gropius left. Neither the Weimar nor, initially, the Dessau administration, was willing to commit funds to construction projects designed and built by the school. Droste claims, quoting Fréd Forbát (Droste 1993, 110) that this slowness to introduce architecture was also due to resistance by the Bauhaus masters:

among the Masters, or at least among some of them, I sense such a dislike of the architecture studio, which they view as a foreign body within the Bauhaus, that I am thoroughly intimidated.

Hannes Meyer blamed the resistance on Gropius himself. Whilst the Bauhaus provided fittings and decorations for building commissions provided by the Dessau administration, the actual building commissions went to Gropius' private architectural office. Bauhaus students were not able to work on architectural problems. Allowing for the enmity between Meyer and Gropius, it is, at the very least, possible that Gropius did not trust the Bauhaus building department with Dessau commissions and therefore used his own office instead. Nevertheless, when it came to his own built work, the division between educational theory and practice remained.

When Meyer took over the directorship of the Bauhaus in 1928, he significantly extended Gropius' business initiatives. This third phase of the school is, however, also the least documented. The Bauhaus archive has little material regarding economic activity during this time and the 1938 MoMA catalogue does not detail the Meyer era. The enmity between Gropius and Meyer, the wealth of Gropius' archive material, Meyer's move to the USSR and Mexico and the lack of Meyer's archive material has led to an imbalance in Bauhaus history towards the celebration of its aesthetic principles and away from its political, commercial and constructional innovations.

Meyer saw the primary function of the Bauhaus as an instrument of industrial mass-production. He had a very clear idea whom the Bauhaus designs should serve. His motto (Droste 1993, 174) 'Volksbedarf statt Luxusbedarf—popular necessities before élitist luxuries' identified the task

of the Bauhaus as the production of standard, affordable products suiting the needs of the mass-consumer. Like the economic model of Fordism, Meyer felt that the Bauhaus should target the mass-public with mass-products, based on an analysis of economical production and the satisfaction of needs. In line with this view, Meyer encouraged Bauhaus contracts to replace (Droste 1993, 176) 'an excessively wide range of products with a small number of standardised models' and restructured the workshops to increase efficiency and to lower production costs through increased standardisation.

Meyer was also not happy about the focus on aesthetics which he felt had characterised the Bauhaus under Gropius' leadership. In 1928 (Gropius 1928) he wrote to Adolf Behne:

we must take an absolutely categorical stand against the bogus-advertising-theatricalness of the previous Bauhaus. Our budget is so modest that we cannot afford the luxury of all this private publicity and so many considerations.

His dislike for 'pure' aesthetic expression led to curricular revisions and rationalisation of workshop activity. Although he initially supported the theatre workshop (albeit with a small budget), he closed it down when Schlemmer left in 1929. He also felt that (Droste 1993, 180) even more than other workshops, advertising should earn its keep through commissions for private businesses (for example for Rasch and Polytex) and market itself through exhibitions (Berlin, Breslau, Dresden, Leipzig and other cities).

The 1929 touring exhibition '10 Years of Bauhaus' (exhibited at Basle, Zürich, Essen, Breslau and Mannheim) contained work designed for mass-production and produced only during his leadership, leading to accusations of élitism (in favour of Meyer) by Gropius.

In general Meyer wanted the workshops to aim for (Droste 1993, 174) the 'greatest possible cost-efficiency' and 'productive teaching principles'. He did, however, wish to retain the 'self-administration of each cell', with one change—the medieval hierarchy of master, journeyman and apprentice was replaced by a technical craft master, students and assistants. The Bauhaus did not have the capital to transform the workshops into factories and their organisation of the workshops therefore had to remain based on post-Fordist principles. Cost-cutting of labour, designed to lower the cost of production, meant that assistants, previously employees paid market rates, were now students exempted from fees and paid only a small salary.

To further lower production costs, the workshops focused on cheap materials and products. Compared to the use of precious hardwoods and metals in the Gropius years, plywood and space-saving folding furniture using softwoods characterised the products of the workshops in the Meyer era. The Bauhaus practice of stamping all products leaving the workshops with the Bauhaus stamp, introduced under Gropius, acquired much greater significance in the Meyer era, when the high levels of production made it a genuine trademark.

Costs were further reduced and productive teaching principles enhanced because specialist manufacturers were, by then, supplementing tuition in the workshops with lectures, demonstrations and visits to factories in order to obtain the designs from the school that were most responsive to the production equipment and processes installed in their factories. Such partnerships between manufacturing and education had been initiated by Gropius but increased in the Meyer era. T. Lux Feininger (Neumann 1993, 191, my square brackets) wrote:

[I] also remember his [Albers] leading us through a cardboard box factory, a depressing place to me (I confess), and pointing out manufacturing particulars, both good and bad (i.e. capable of improvement), with the kind of religious concentration one would expect from a lecturer in the Louvre.

The Bauhaus used factories and assembly lines as teaching spaces, putting the symbolic promise of integrating signification and production more directly into practice. Brandt wrote (Neumann 1993, 106):

Gradually, through visits to the industry and inspections and interviews on the spot, we came to our main concern—industrial design. Moholy-Nagy fostered this with stubborn energy. Two lighting firms seemed particularly interested in our aims. Körting and Matthiessen (Kandem) and Leipzig Leutzsch helped us enormously with a practical introduction into the laws of lighting technique and the production methods, which

not only helped us in designing, but also helped the firms. We also tried to create a functional but aesthetic assembly line.

A number of authors, Droste among them, argue that the Meyer era was the most economically productive one in Bauhaus history. Christian Wollsdorff (Hahn 1985, 183) also agrees that mass-production of Bauhaus products was only achieved under Hannes Meyer. The most successful workshops by then were joinery, weaving, metal and the mural workshops, which had taken up Meyer's call to produce economical, everyday products. The most successful product was wallpaper, made in the mural workshop. Its one colour and simple texture pattern made it cheap and easy to produce, buy and hang. Wollsdorff (185) claims that 80,000 rooms were papered with Bauhaus paper in 1929-30 alone. Emil Rasch, the Bauhaus client and manufacturer who had placed the wallpaper contract (and whose daughter was at the Bauhaus) wrote (Neumann 1993, 220, my brackets):

Once, after I had paid him a compliment for proper and timely execution of our project [designing Bauhaus wallpaper] and also for his solid business outlook, he [Meyer] said to me: 'You do not need to be so surprised. I come from a Basle family of businessmen'.

Meyer himself summed up the success of Bauhaus products more ironically (Hahn 1985, 187) by stating 'Bauhaus ist Mode' (the Bauhaus is in fashion). Unlike Gropius, he did not acknowledge the role of Bauhaus publicity in this process, nor recognise the contribution of progressive

design across Germany and Europe generally to growing Bauhaus sales. He was suspicious of advertising.

Meyer did, however, recognise the importance of state management of the economy. He expanded the collaboration between the school and state organisations, seeking state funds for experiments in construction. As a son of a contractor he was familiar with a business ethos and the organisation of construction. His main contribution to Bauhaus teaching was finally to expand and organise the building department along principles that realigned its post-Fordist labour structure with Fordist methods of production, including the experimental construction of elements of mass-housing.

In the Meyer era the building department divided into a theory section (*Baulehre*) and a construction section (*Bauabteilung*) but these were animated by similar principles emphasising the scientific and technological basis of building production. The theory class focused on architectural science: heating and ventilation, structures, materials, solar calculations, technical drawing, building design and later, also urban planning and housing. Teaching in the building department consisted (Droste 1993, 190) of: 'systematic processing of small, specific building projects; work in 'co-operative cells' on large projects ... ; diploma projects and independent activities'. This most clearly represented (90) Meyer's belief in collectivisation and systematisation: 'Building is only organisation: social, technical, economic, psychical organisation'.

It also represented (Wingler 1980, 60) Meyer's dissatisfaction with the role of the architect as an aesthete:

My architecture students will not be architects ... The 'architect' is dead ... The building materials expert, the small town master builder, the colourist—each an instrument of co-operation.

The Bauhaus proto- post-Fordist workshop structure introduced in the Gropius years paralleled the slow industrialisation of the German building industry and trade-based organisation of the building site. Work on Bauhaus building projects was organised into vertical work gangs incorporating seniors and juniors, experts and novices into a single team and allowed younger students to learn from older ones. In the building department post-Fordism continued to dominate over Fordism. Unlike the students in the workshops producing objects for mass-production, which tried to incorporate Fordist mass-production by collaborating with their respective industries, those in the building department could still partially bridge the two types of economy because the proto- post-Fordist labour organisation still characterised much of German construction generally.

Whether or not commercial and architectural success in the Meyer era was simply due to Meyer reaping the rewards of Gropius' hard work in setting up the Bauhaus company and workshop system (as Gropius claimed), Meyer's biographer Schnaidt (Schnaidt 1965, 51) asserts that the school's growing economic success (and thus its administrative autonomy) formed a far more powerful threat to the state than the economic dependence of the

Gropius years. This, rather than Meyer's socialist sympathies, therefore formed, in Schnaidt's view, one of the main reasons why Meyer was asked to resign.

The Meyer era saw the most focused political reorganisation at the school. Teaching in the workshops and the building department emphasised collaboration and the satisfaction of basic needs, in line with socialist beliefs. Standardisation was presented as providing the greatest economic and social advantages to the population. The work of the building department focused on mass-housing and functional methods of construction designed to lead to greater volumes of more economic building. The relations between teachers and students, as well as students themselves changed. Droste (1993, 196) writes: 'Co-operative ideals were given first priority: co-operation, standardisation, the harmonious balance of individual and society'.

However, the growing polarisation of politics into right and left wing extremes at the Bauhaus, paralleling the general political situation in Germany, eventually led to a major political crisis at the school, which led to Meyer's forced resignation. Droste (96) states that '[m]any of these ideas were taken up and politicised by Communist students'. Although he did not tolerate Communist student activity at the Bauhaus, expelling its leading activist, Meyer's own sympathies openly lay on the political left. Droste quotes a letter from Meyer to Edwin Redslob, one of the Bauhaus' most fervent right-wing critics, written after his resignation in 1930: 'The Bauhaus today reflects an undeniable degree of proletarianisation'. The

problematic after-effects of the self-organisation of the students thus paralleled the unionisation effect of workers on Fordist production. In both cases such mass-politicisation was seen as a threat by the authorities. Meyer was forced to resign and he (200) 'and a 'red Bauhaus brigade' moved to Moscow in 1930 to help in the spread of Socialism'.

With the departure of Meyer, the production levels at the Bauhaus once again fell. Income from licenses continued (Hahn 1985, 136) to form part of Bauhaus income during the fourth era, under the directorship of Mies van der Rohe. Some new product agreements, including furniture and textiles, were signed after Meyer left, although the two contracts Hahn discusses (190-93) refer to designs from the Meyer era. Difficulties in maintaining commissions were likely due to the return of severe economic crisis following the Wall Street Crash. Pius Pahl (Neumann 1993, 255) wrote that in 1930:

the financial status of the Bauhaus was hopeless, tuition could only be maintained through great personal sacrifices of the Bauhaus masters.

Mies felt no urge to create designs for a mass-public. In his building department students largely designed private villas. When they rebelled against the Mies leadership and occupied the Bauhaus buildings, Mies called in the army. This single move symbolised that the era of Fordism, socialism and mass-production at the Bauhaus was over. Mies tried to escape the growing politicisation of everyday life by denying any political role for the Bauhaus. However, in 1933 National Socialists tried to extract guarantees

of such ideological conformity to their party values from the school, which included demands for sacking several masters, that Mies could see no alternative but to dissolve the Bauhaus. This time the crisis was to last and the Bauhaus closed for good.

For Meyer, as for many left-wing sympathisers, the mass-production and consumption principles of Fordism were able to translate into practice the promise of industrial technology to satisfy the needs of the population. Under his leadership, politics and economics at the Bauhaus aligned to refocus design and architecture on everyday life, collective social relations, economy of materials and the efficient organisation of construction. All of these ambitions led to the realisation, in part at least, of the promise contained in the distorted ur-historical dream-images of the first phase of the Bauhaus and the technological symbolism of the dialectical images of the second phase of the Bauhaus.

Combined with the formal experiments of the first and second phases, the fourth phase, that under Mies, and the final phase in the USA helped to solidify the Bauhaus' identity as an institution focusing primarily on the aesthetics of design, and only secondarily on production and social change. Such a privileged reading allows Baudrillard's identification of the Bauhaus as a 'laboratory of signs'. The lack of documentation and erasure of the third phase, the period under Meyer's directorship, has meant that important innovations in production and teaching made between 1928 and 1930 have received little scholarly attention. This has led to the underrating of the role

of business and politics in Bauhaus history generally and failed to acknowledge the extent of the school's economic and social innovations.

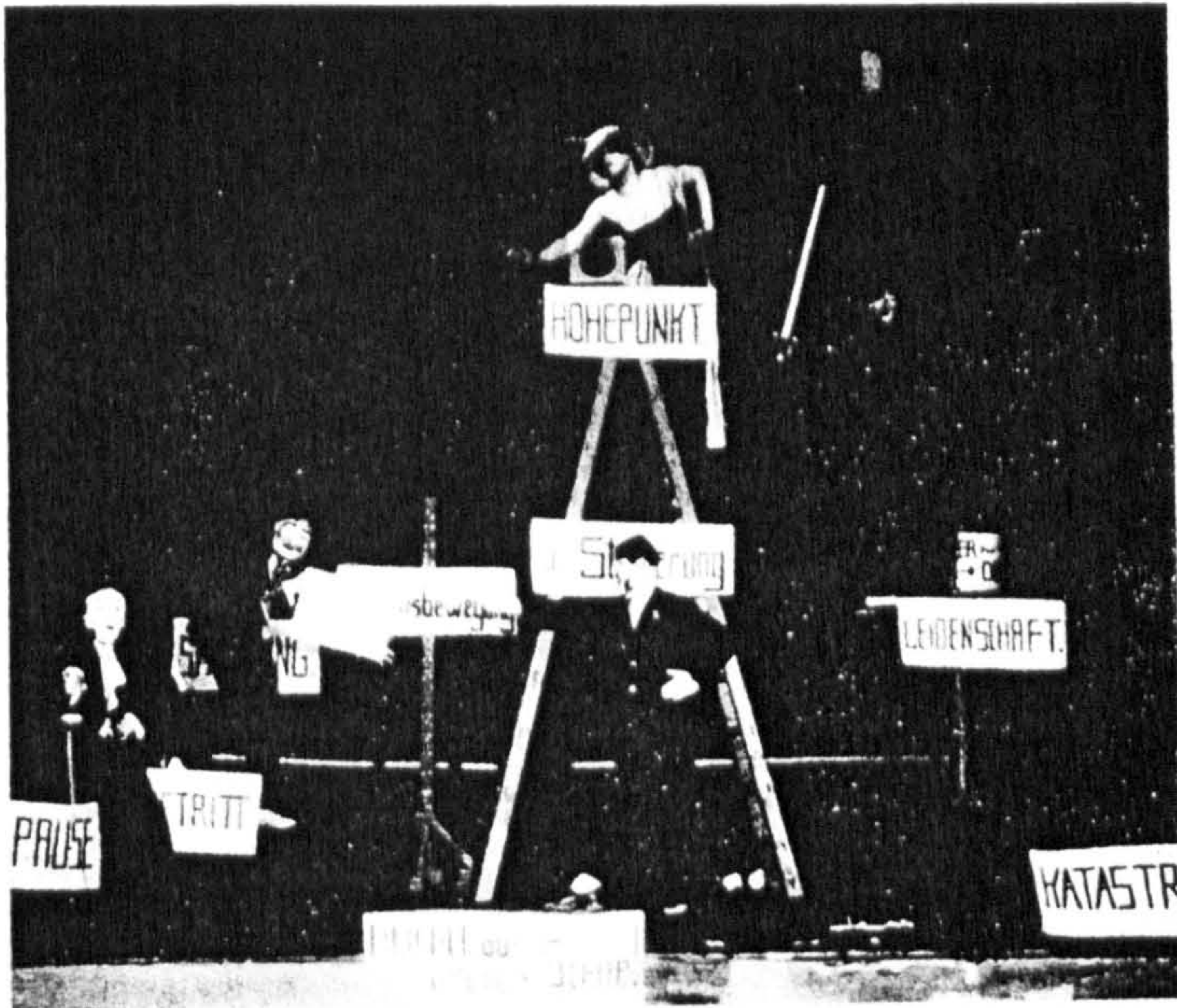
Baudrillard's claims regarding the Bauhaus' expansion of commodity signs arise out of this documentary imbalance and ignore the changes in production and society in the Meyer era. Meyer's interest in mass-production and socialism affirm the values of the Production Order over those of the emerging order of simulation. Baudrillard's analysis, like that of the Bauhaus in the 1938 catalogue, presents cultural activity as an autonomous system of signs, which bears little critical relationship to broader social processes. Baudrillard does not acknowledge his own theoretical bias in the reproduction of institutional values. Such analysis denies the critical role of Bauhaus images and practices in the production and reconstruction of the dominant fiction underpinning education at the Bauhaus.

Bauhaus whistling tune

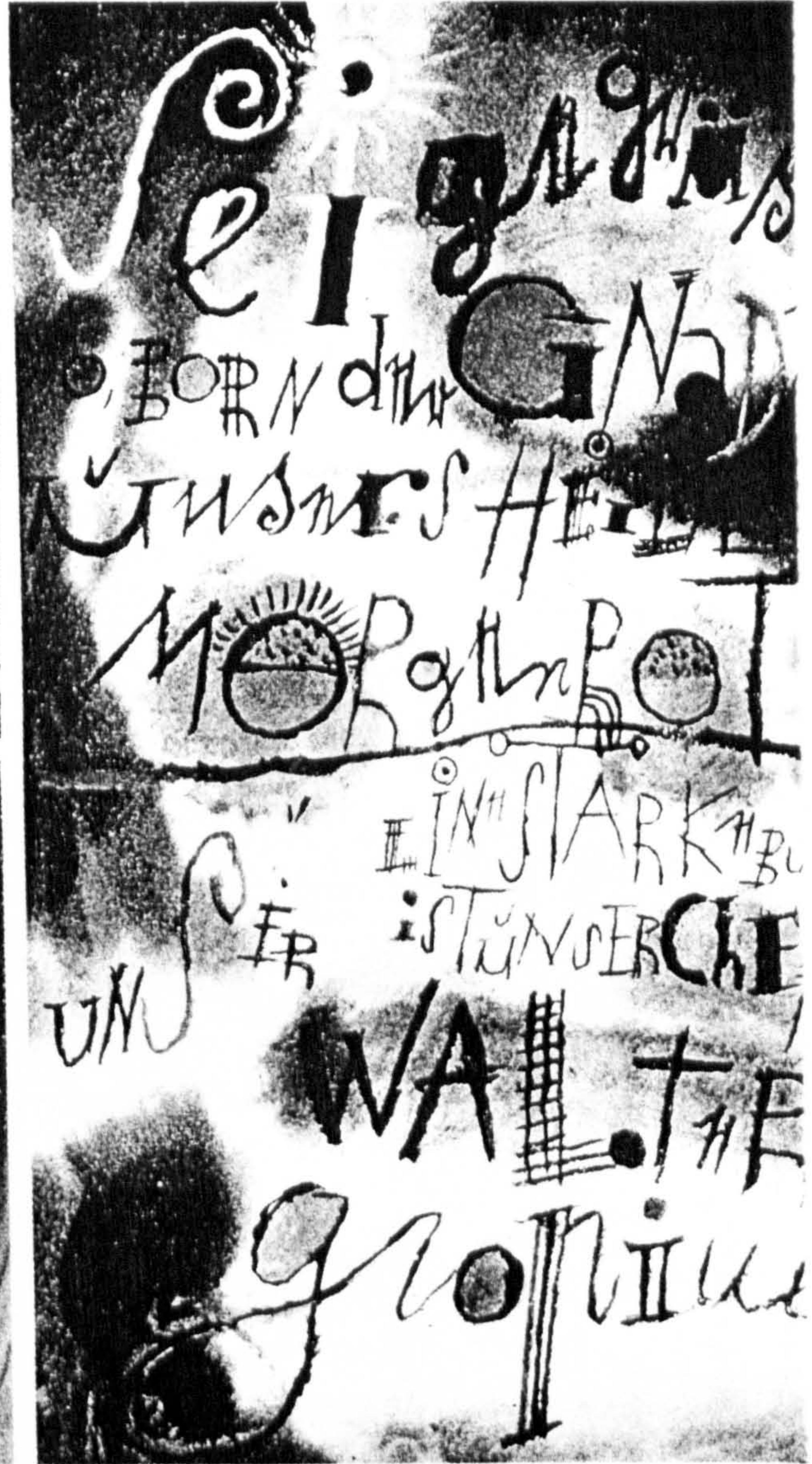
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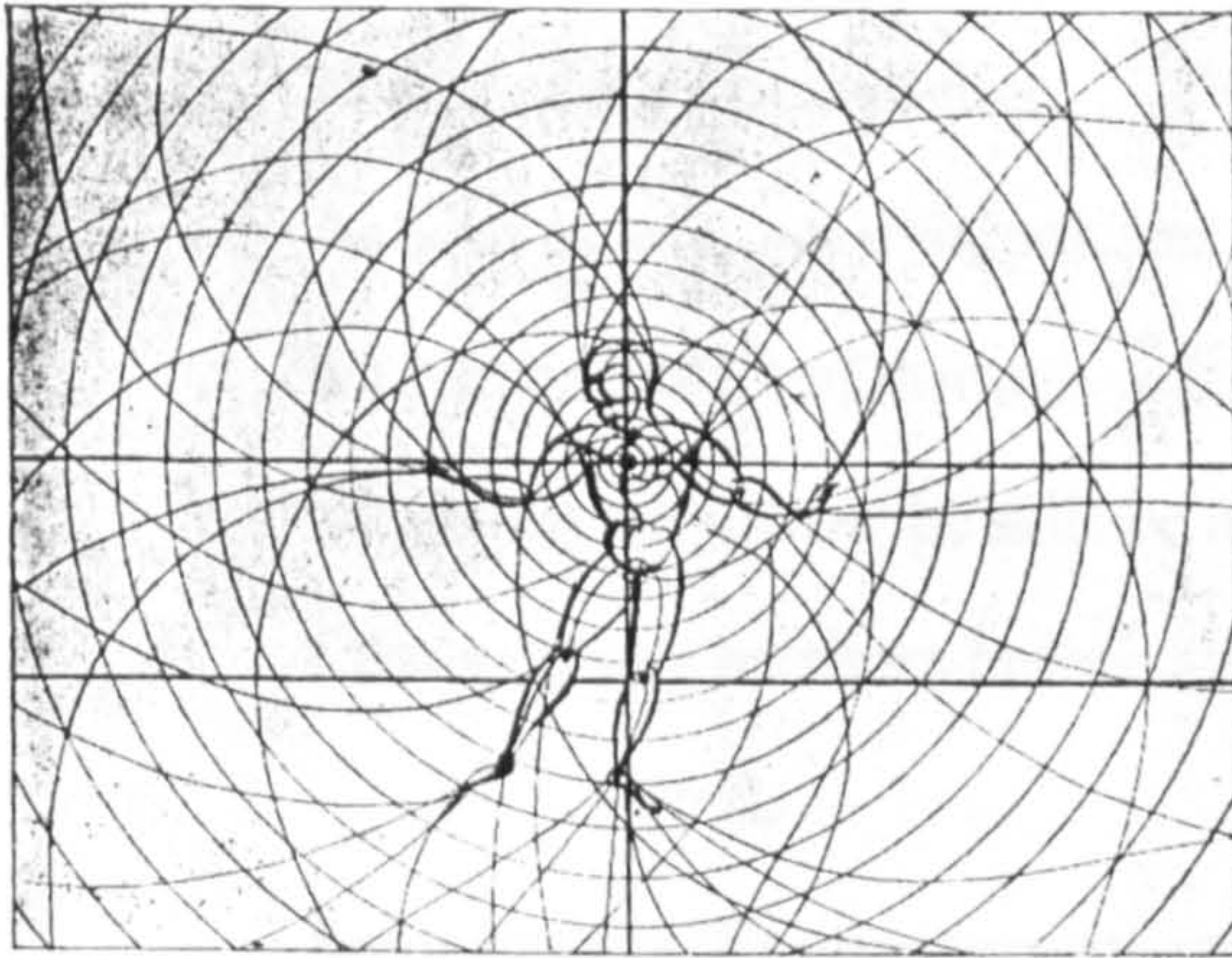


Top, Oskar Schlemmer, 1922; bottom, Xanti Schawinsky, 1924: Improvised sketches at Bauhaus dances



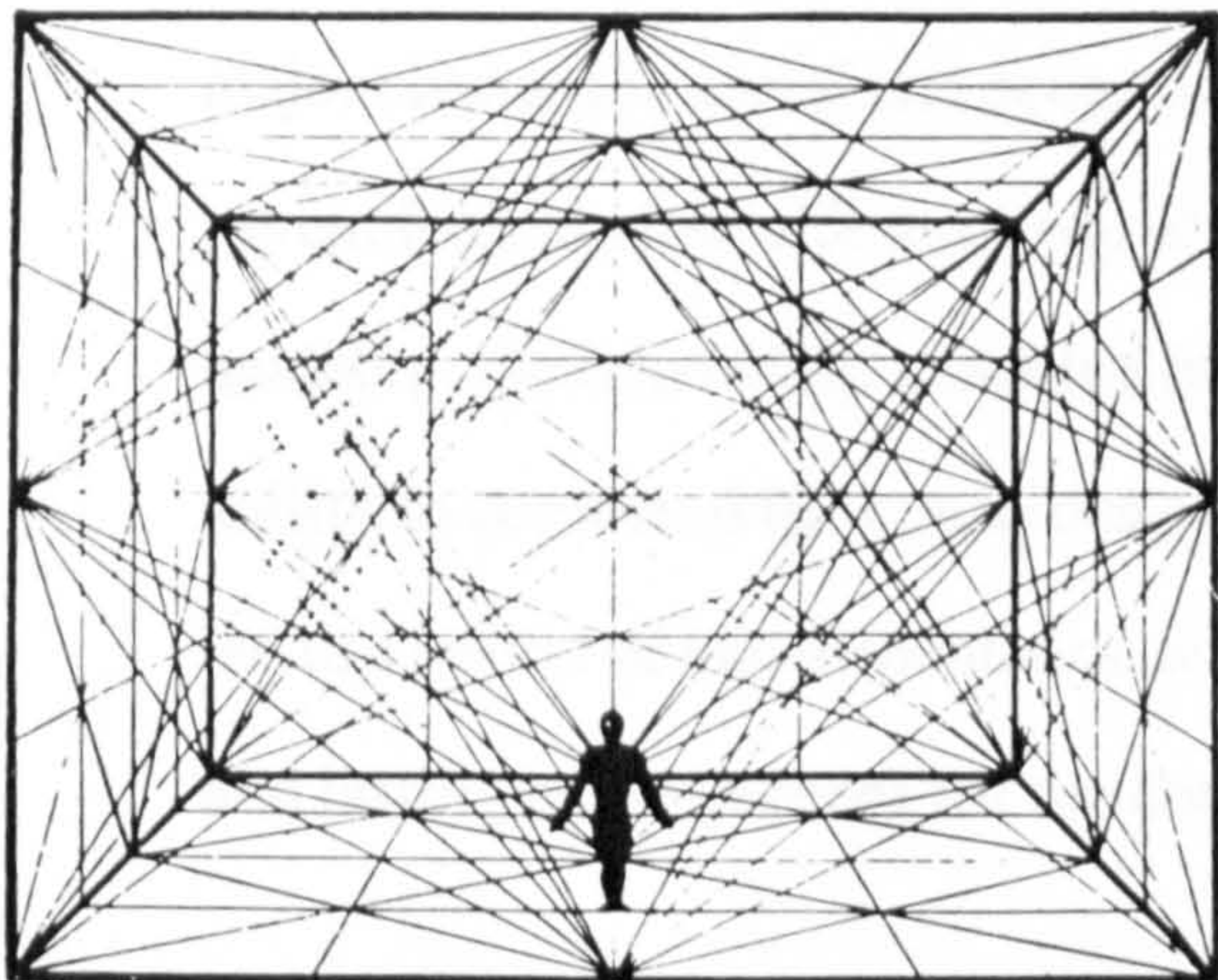
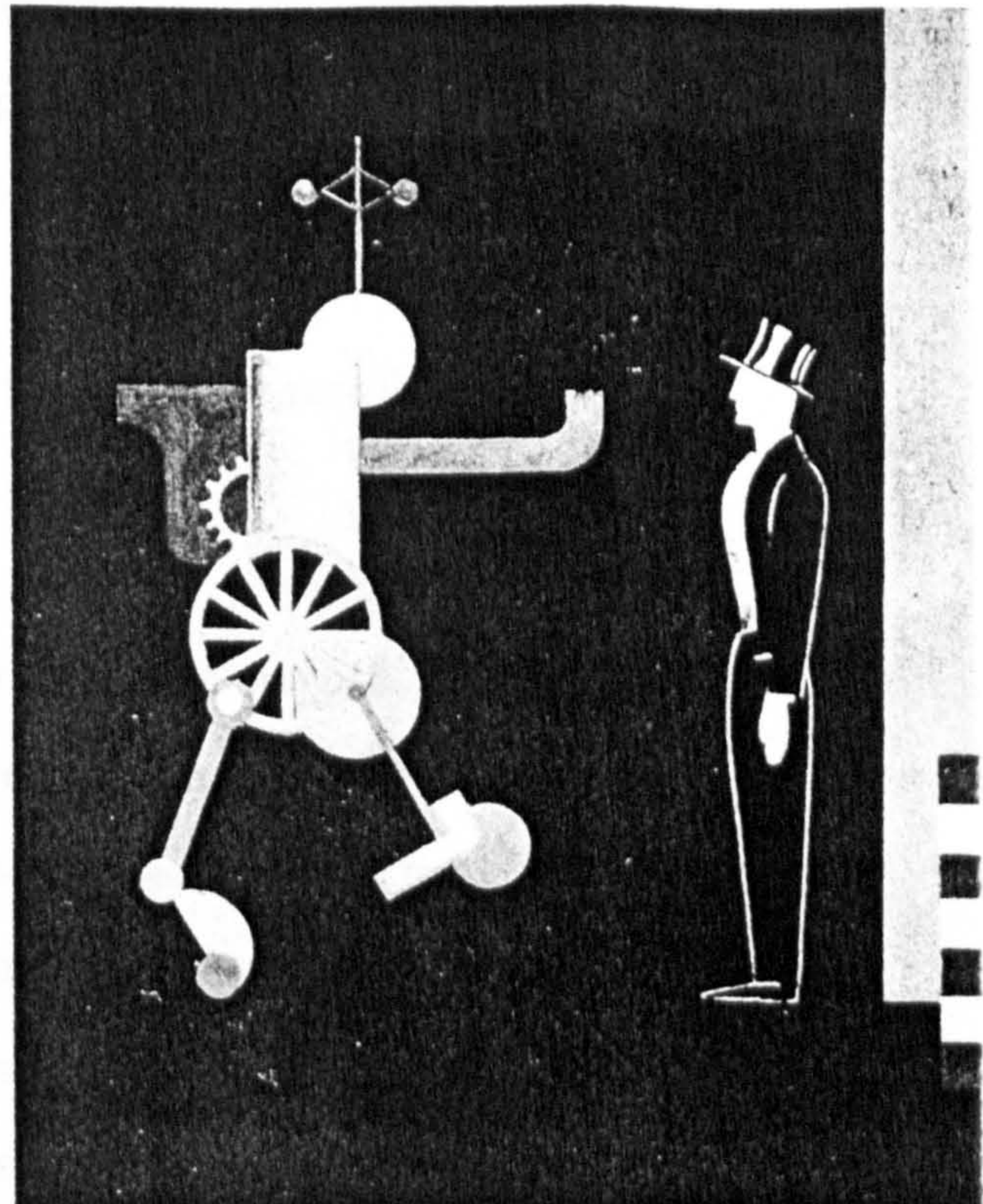
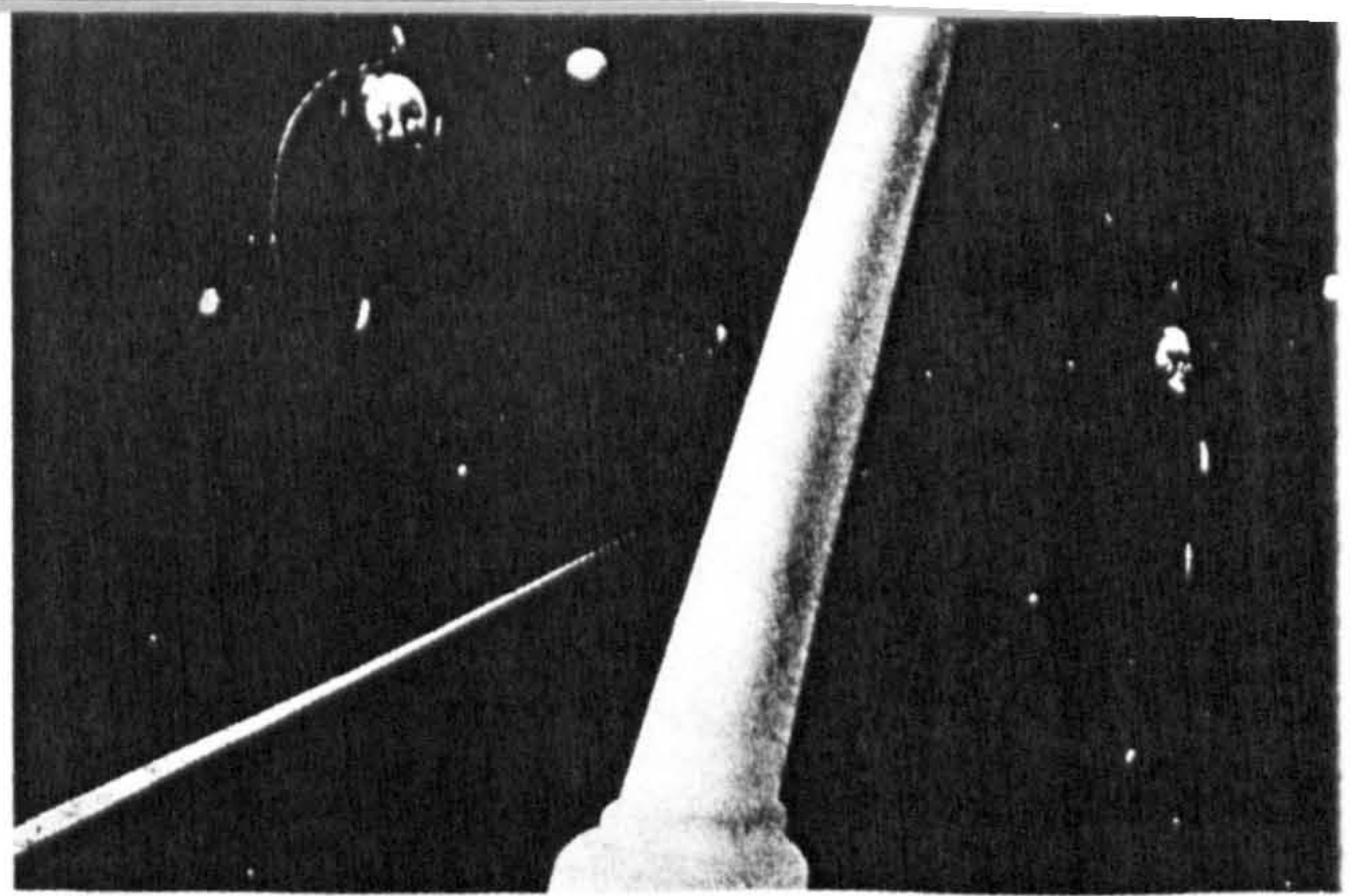
Marcel Breuer: Birthday greetings to Walter Gropius

Oskar Schlemmer: Disk
dancers from *The Triadic
Ballet*. Photomontage

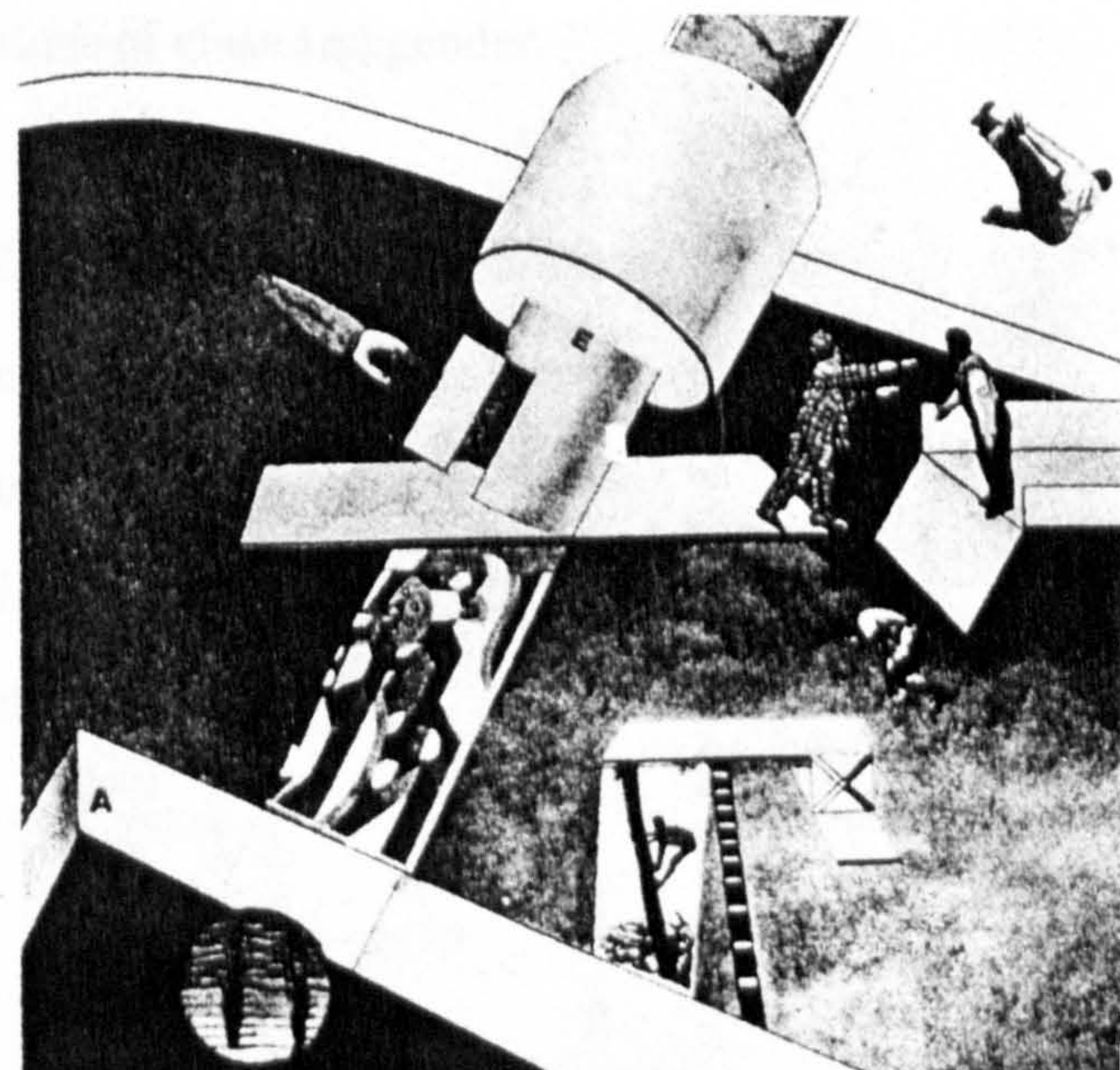


↑
Oskar Schlemmer:
Delineation of space by
human figures. Theoretical
drawings. 1924
↓

Alexander Schawinsky:
Tap dancer and tap
dancing robot, 1925



Farkas Molnár: U-Theater
in action



11.1. Dissolution

There stands a man, a man
As firm as any oak tree, oak tree,
Maybe he has lived through many a tempest, tempest, tempest,
Maybe by tomorrow he will be a corpse,
Like so many brothers before him, him, him.

Song sung by Bauhaus members for Lyonel Feininger's feast day
(Neumann 1993, 158)

The Bauhaus emerged during a turbulent period of German history, when major changes in social and economic structures combined with the psychological after-effects of war and created conditions of extreme hardship. Such hardship unsettled inherited structures of belief and their ability to command the conscious consensus of the German population. It led to a period of experimentation with political, social and cultural identity, and lasting consequences for the conventions of class and gender.

In *Male Subjectivity at the Margins* (1992) Kaja Silverman combines and interprets the writings of Lacan, Freud and Laplanche to show how belief alters in wartime. She coins the term 'dominant fiction' to describe the legitimising narrative that normally sustains collective social belief and represents the interests of the dominant class.

Silverman writes that the trauma of war shatters the mirror which society normally holds up to itself and in which it uncritically views itself. Instead, the collective experience of death and the dissolution of inherited social order creates a collective crisis of identity. By confronting society with a repeated external manifestation of the internal Oedipal dissolution of the self, war loosens people from the sign systems that normally bind them uncritically to society. Instead, Silverman argues that through experiencing the trauma of war the male in particular confronts the social representation of 'lack'. Lack is the ultimate void on which traditional psychoanalytic theory from Freud onwards claims human identity and presence in the world is built. This void is normally concealed through the dominant fiction which affirms a mythical stability of patriarchal, class and racial relations. The loosening of the dominant fiction in the aftermath of war allows, for a time, multiple, hitherto minor and marginal identities to emerge through Imaginary fantasy before dominant masculine models once again assert themselves through Symbolic fantasy.

In this chapter I use depictions of school social life in Bauhaus reminiscences and the 1938 catalogue to show how the Bauhaus enacted 'lack' through teaching and extra-curricular behaviour. Its experiments with collective identity led to important revisions of the traditional educational habitus. I propose that the First World War provided the cultural shock necessary to awaken Bauhaus students and staff from the ideological dream-sleep of imperial pre-War peacetime. In the process of awakening, normative concepts of masculinity, bourgeois privilege and white supremacy were temporarily destabilised and their ideological roles

revealed. Losing the absolute guarantee that 'everything is really so and could not be otherwise', the Bauhaus became conscious of the social construction of its collective identity, which led to experiments with its disassembly and reconstruction. Unlike later, stabler periods of design education, social identity at the Bauhaus became volatile. The habitus, rather than being unconsciously reproduced, became a subject of conscious critique and playful transformation.

I propose that Imaginary fantasy characterised the first phase of Bauhaus teaching immediately following the First World War. I briefly examine how Imaginary fantasy loosened collective identity from its traditional ties, aligning itself with minor, symbolically feminine identities. This led to a brief moment of feminised masculinity through masochistic, narcissistic and playful social identities. I show that the Bauhaus identified 'lack' as the foundation of all creativity but incorporated it only for the definition of masculine identity. Even this was gradually replaced by Symbolic fantasy re-instituting class, gender and racial stereotypes so that in the 1938 catalogue the earlier experiments with identity were largely excluded.

Most of this chapter examines the first phase of the Bauhaus—the period within which the dominant fiction of masculinity and the coherence of the ego was most effectively challenged by representations of 'lack' through Imaginary fantasy. Imaginary fantasy allowed for the re-enactment of war-trauma, physical privation, alienation, the dissolution of gender stereotypes and the celebration of multiple identities.

In section 11.2 I show how Itten's teaching at the Bauhaus internalised and reconciled the experience of 'lack' through the aftermath of war, using techniques similar to the treatment of war neurosis. I examine how these pedagogic methods relied on the acceptance, by the students, of forms of behaviour associated with a masochistic model of masculinity.

In section 11.3 I examine the symbolic resolution of a second, related experience of 'lack' —that of hunger, malnutrition and disease, through ritualised fasting and bodily purification regimes introduced by Itten. I argue that Itten's regimes were so effective because they rationalised and eroticised a pre-existing, unconscious and masochistic relation to social formation.

In section 11.4. I examine a third experience of 'lack', this time through its relationship to the local context of the school. I argue that the experiments in Bauhaus identity transformed the representation of 'Imaginary lack' into a powerful threat to Weimaraners' inherited beliefs in gender, class and race. The citizenry therefore had to dismantle this threat by dismissing Bauhaus activities in terms of 'Symbolic lack', as transgressions to the patriarchal dominant fiction. Immorality, madness and sexual licentiousness became the terms through which Weimaraners classified and dismissed Bauhaus experiments in identity.

In Section 11.5 I identify a positive exploration of 'lack' and its dissolution of the dominant fiction of stable identity. I argue that Bauhaus festivals, more detached from immediate institutional control, formed the main vehicle

through which students and staff continued to enact more fluid and playful social identities. I argue that festivals formed the most powerful moments for acting out Imaginary fantasy. The festivals' (Neumann 1993, 44) 'living 'give and take" partially bypassed the traditional, hierarchical and unconscious construction of the dreaming collective. This, then, is why the festivals represented the warmest personal memories for ex-students of the Bauhaus years and why festivals were instrumental in forming the strong social bonds ex-students associate with the school.

In section 11.6 I examine the relationship of the Bauhaus theatre to the Bauhaus festivals. I suggest that the Bauhaus theatre tried to resolve the contradictions between Imaginary and Symbolic fantasy, exploring models through which new producers and consumers fit for the age of industrialisation could be consciously reconstructed through the creation of a new habitus. Integrating the production of space, the body and identity, the theatre harnessed play in a more conscious and structured manner to reconstruct the dominant fiction as Symbolic fantasy. I argue that far more than the *Vorkurs*, the theatre therefore constituted a major ideological innovation of the Bauhaus. However, the relationship of the theatre to the dominant fiction was ambivalent. The association of industrialisation and mechanisation with androgyny which underlay the Bauhaus theatre denied the gendered nature of the dominant fiction and laid the ground for the eventual reimposition of the patriarchal dominant fiction.

In section 11.5 I show how unconscious Symbolic fantasy combined with conscious Symbolic law to reinstitute the dominant fiction. I focus on the

Oedipal order at the Bauhaus and, following its period of experimentation, the reintroduction of a monolithic masculinity. In particular I examine the role of Walter Gropius as the 'father' of the Bauhaus, and the administrative as well as symbolic 'law' enacted under his leadership and supported by the masters. This excluded female students from the full range of educational opportunities. Legitimising 'lack' as privileged masculine experience, and erasing its roots in gender, race and class inequality, the new symbolic law of the Bauhaus made the patriarchal dominant fiction far more difficult to attack. The school's statutes, publications and theatre productions characterised the Bauhaus student as an androgynous being, yet unwritten beliefs like the authenticity of the suffering artist, and institutional mechanisms like workshop access and organisation excluded the full participation of women students and masters.

The theatre and festivals constructed a powerful habitus embodying the Bauhaus experience. They provided a rare opportunity for the conscious, playful production of an institutional environment and therefore a possibility for its reconstruction. This largely took place in a distorted fashion — as a series of dream images, which were only temporarily and partially fulfilled in actual educational reform. The experiments in androgynous identity carried out in the Bauhaus theatre also anticipated the return to convention in the Gropius era and the masculine construct of the worker as engineer in the Meyer era. However, they also showed that it was possible to use the potential of formal and informal role play to reconstruct rather than simply reproduce social relations.



11.2 Johannes Itten, 1920

11.2. Representing Lack: War Trauma

When I saw the first Bauhaus proclamation, ornamented with Feininger's woodcut, I made inquiries as to what the Bauhaus really was. I was told that 'during the entrance examinations every applicant is locked up in a dark room. Thunder and lightning are let loose upon him to get him in a state of agitation. His being admitted depends on how well he describes his reactions.' This report, although it exaggerated the actual facts, fired my enthusiasm.

Herbert Bayer

Bauhaus 1919-1938 (1975, 18)

Throughout Europe the huge losses of the First World War had a major impact on the collective unconscious. The legacy of the first mass-war was that winners and losers were united in their experience of war trauma and a rejection of the past. Within that shared experience however, Germany ended the First World War as the greatest loser, with enormous casualties, reduced territory, and its economic and social problems far worse than those of the victors. Miller Lane (1968, 45) writes that German military losses were closely associated with 'the defeat of an outworn system of values, and of an entire era in German culture.' A mistrust of the old social order and a mystical faith in the power of the spirit to lead to a new social revolution formed some of the responses to the crisis. The Bauhaus did not escape such crises of confidence. Their magnitude and the attempts at their

resolution revealed, for a time, the fragility of the dominant fiction and, subsequently, its resilience.

The crisis of the dominant fiction extended symbolically from social identity to architecture. Old architectural forms were associated with the old social order; the architectural community, including some of its spiritual leaders like Bruno Taut and Walter Gropius, rejected pre-war architectural norms. Taut (1929, 92-93) later wrote:

It was not possible to make use of any pre-war traditions, for that period was perforce regarded as the cause of the misfortunes of the past, and because every achievement of those days seemed more or less to hang together with the origins of the war.

Gropius, himself a soldier (ill. 3) and wounded in the war, acknowledged the breakdown of traditional cultural identity. He wrote (Gropius 1919b, 32) that :

Today's artist lives in an era of dissolution, without guidance. He stands alone. The old forms are in ruins, the benumbed world is shaken up, the old human spirit is invalidated and in flux toward a new form. We float in space and cannot yet perceive the new order.

Unstable social identity found its first expression in dream-representations of the new order. Gropius wrote (1919c, my translation, 3) that 'not yet the

political [revolution], first the complete spiritual revolution can make us free'. Mystical, spiritual rebirth was a necessary pre-requisite to new social relations.

The solution to the crisis of identity was the production of new kind of human being. Gropius continued:

First man must be constructed; only then can the artist make him fine new clothing. The contemporary being must begin anew, to rejuvenate himself, to achieve a new humanity, a universal life-form of the people.

Architects believed that this new being would produce the new architecture. Feininger's image of the gothic cathedral on the cover of the 1919 Bauhaus manifesto (ill. 8.4) and Gropius' statements (ill. 9.5) promising a new age of exalted craftsmen and collective work implied that the new social identity could be symbolised (Bayer 1975, 16, Gropius' italics) through the architectural process:

Together let us conceive and create the new building of the future, which will embrace architecture *and* sculpture *and* painting in one unity and which will rise one day toward heaven from the hands of a million workers like the crystal symbol of a new faith.

The yearning for a new faith and identity can be seen as a direct response to the experience of war. The social contract between the soldier and the state

was further emphasised by the need for the new society to compensate for and distance the trauma of war.

Many Bauhaus students and some staff (ill. 11.3) had fought in the First World War. Droste (Droste 1993, 22) writes that they 'arrived direct from active service, hoping for the chance to make a fresh start and give meaning to their lives'. T. Lux Feininger (Neumann 1993, 186) observed in 1919:

Almost all have been in the army, it is a new type, a new generation ... these young people are not babies.

Yet the transformation of the new arrivals began with Bauhaus educational rituals that re-enacted the wartime loss of the self. The quotation at the beginning of this section forms one example. Although the introduction of such rituals may not have been consciously related to the need to re-enact war experiences, their uncritical acceptance by students may have been related to their experience of the dissolution of the self in wartime. Repetition of military discipline and war-like traumatic experiences characterised the first phase of Bauhaus pedagogic and social activity.

In Itten's classes students were encouraged to abandon bodily control. Itten sought physical looseness in his students so the spirit could open itself up to its full creative potential; this could only occur through losing physical co-ordination of the body and separating the body from the spirit.

Alfred Arndt (58) quoted Itten on one of these occasions:

Please stand up. You have to be loose, completely loose, or you won't be able to work. Turn your heads. That's it! More! You've still got sleep in your necks!

The loss of physical control ritualised 'lack'. The students abandoned their body to the master. The restitution of control through highly ordered physical exercise defined by Itten mirrored the control of identity through military discipline. By elevating the loss of mastery and then replacing it immediately by submission to external discipline, Itten's teaching doubly rehearsed the experience of war. The student's body was symbolically dismantled and then reconstructed (in a new image associated with the Bauhaus) by a ritualised abandonment of the self and a subsequent re-imposition of order through submission to ritualised movement. The desire for the stability of the dominant fiction was represented through these quasi-military manoeuvres.

During the first phase of the Bauhaus other military metaphors describing its community invoked mastery, colonisation and a defensive view opposing and controlling an uncontrollable world. T. Lux Feininger (186) wrote:

The incomparable shock action of the Bauhaus idea came from the unity of purpose of a group of people fortifying themselves against a wilderness. There was nothing of the ivory tower in this isolation. It

was the necessary defence of the pioneer in his stockade: he meant to establish himself in the land.

The resolution of trauma through the imposition of discipline on the body and social behaviour took a number of forms. Uniforms, gestures and anthems formed key elements of corporate identity at the school. Tut Schlemmer (165) wrote that 'a Bauhaus garment was designed, the Bauhaus whistle and the Bauhaus salute were invented'. Well after the Second World War Lothar Schreyer (74) wrote that 'I still have and use my old Bauhaus suit'. Students wrote a Bauhaus song, beginning with the question 'Itten, Muche, Mazdaznan?', followed by the answer 'Mazdaznan, Mazdaznan', sung to an old German tune. It was important enough to be included in the 1938 catalogue (Bayer 1975, 86 and ill. 11.0).

Regimes of control extended to the body itself. Apart from the eurythmic and other exercises encouraged by Itten, students also adopted Itten's conventions of appearance (ill. 11.2), which included a distinct mode of dress and a bald head. Schreyer (Neumann 1993, 74) wrote:

When one day Itten declared that long hair was a sign of sin, his most enthusiastic disciples shaved their heads completely. And thus we went around Weimar.

Students also established control over identity by (49) constructing precise rules for 'reading' the body:

When we shook someone's hand we could tell more about him from the handshake, the dryness or dampness of his skin, and other signs, than he would find comfortable. His vocal pitch, his complexion, his walk, every one of his involuntary gestures gave him away. We thought we could see through any person, because our method gave us advantage over the unsuspecting.

However, Itten's teaching, from the beginning, consciously used educational processes to reform not only objects and design (ills. 4.2, 5.1 and 6.2), but also the identities and beliefs of their designers. Itten's teaching re-enacted war trauma as a parallel of Lacan's split of the self into (Lemaire 1977, 87) the 'I of existence and the I of meaning'. It recognised the division of signs and body traits into form and content. This resembled the process of empathetic identification with and the projection of human traits necessary onto inanimate objects that characterises commodity fetishism and the release of signs into the system of sign exchange identified by Baudrillard.

As I have shown in Chapter 9, the broader desire for and affirmation of the reconstruction of collective identity at the Bauhaus was clearly represented by the dream-like figures on the cover of the 1938 catalogue. The re-enactment of war trauma placed human bodies as well as objects themselves

at the centre of sign production and reproduction and allowed both to become commodity signs. The willingness to apply discipline directly and visibly to the body also revealed the body as an object to be controlled by the institution and acknowledged the role of education in the production of the habitus.

Itten's teaching also explored the effects of war by rejecting the traditional referential norms of art. In the *Vorkurs* he asked students to draw the war and directed the highest praise to an abstract drawing by a student who had never been in the war. Representations of war following the pre-war academic tradition of realism were rejected. The obedience of the students was such that this condemnation of the majority, who had struggled to represent a life-like image of their experience, was accepted with admiration. Such acting-out followed the standard treatment for war neurosis at the time. The German psychoanalyst Ernst Simmel (Kaes 1994, 8) wrote in 1918, immediately following the end of the First World War that:

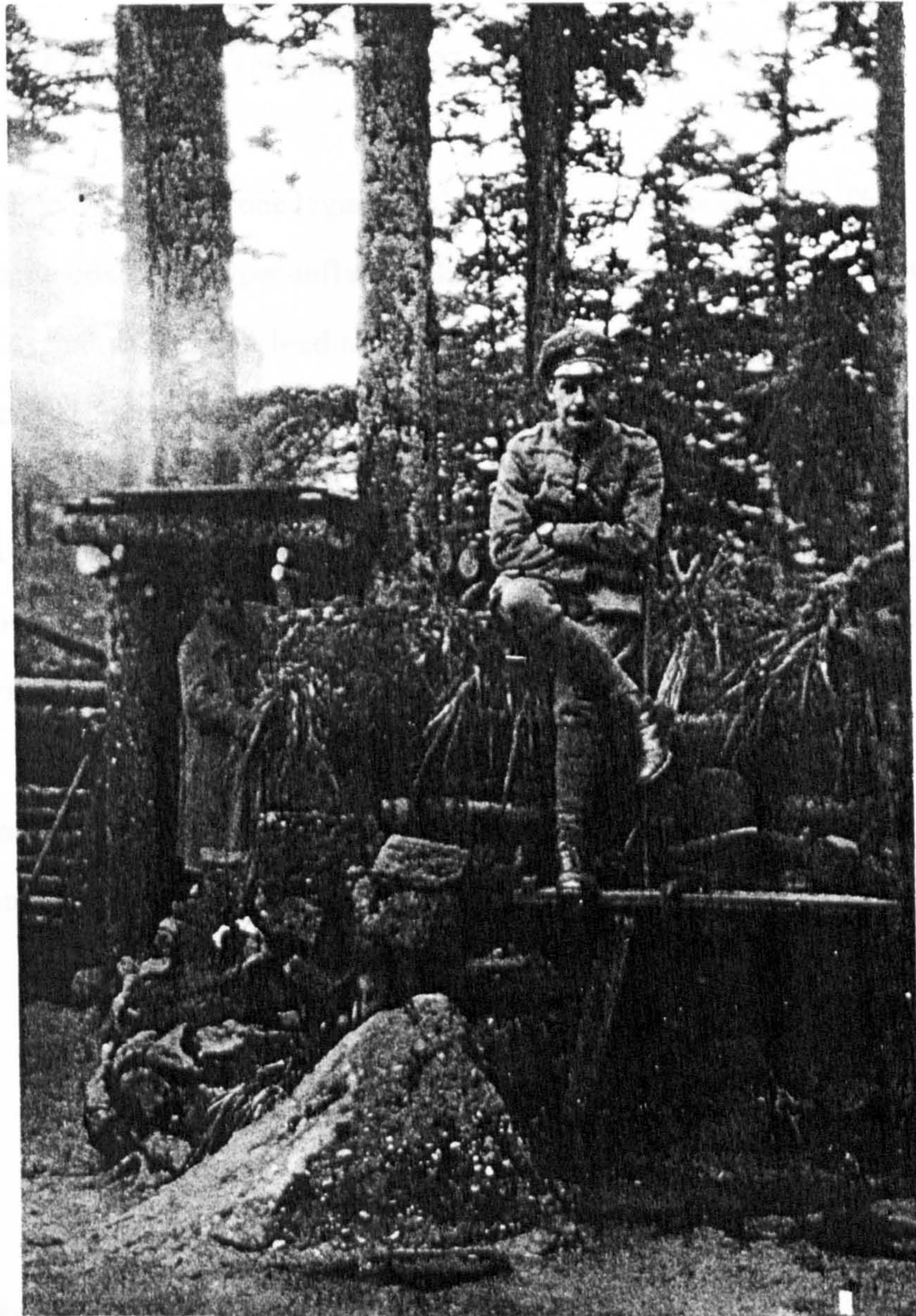
only the self-protective mechanism, with its release of waves of affect, and its attachment to an individual organ, to external symptoms, and to symptomatic actions prevents a permanent disturbance of the psychic balance.

Re-enactment of trauma could release its unconscious, displaced, neurotic representation into consciousness, detach it from the body and so effect a

cure. The other treatment for war neurosis was suggestive hypnosis. Both methods involved indirect, displaced forms of representation. War neurosis was too threatening to be represented directly. Simmel stated (7) that

suggesting away such a symptom does nothing more than eliminate a safety valve which the organism had created to compensate for an inordinate amount of internal psychic pressure.

War trauma was represented indirectly, through distorted dream-images of the disintegrating, passive body. However, fantasies of wholeness embodied in regimes of absolute obedience, despite their masochistic enactment, relied on traditional patriarchal fantasies of an integrated, stable identity and a hierarchical relationship between students and masters. Itten's teaching method therefore only partially questioned traditional identity. There were, however, other and more effective forms through which lack was represented at the Bauhaus.



11.3 Walter Gropius at the Western Front, 1916

11.3. Representing Lack: Privation

Great demands were made on our self-denial, and if we occasionally sinned when conditions were too hard or hunger or thirst too great, on the whole we felt happy and privileged to have the firm support of our doctrine, to know the right way so that we did not, like the others, collapse in the general chaos.

Paul Citroen (Neumann 1993, 48)

If psychic trauma was one legacy of the war, hunger was another. The economic crisis and hyper-inflation placed even basic foodstuff beyond the reach of many Germans, leading to conditions of semi-starvation. Paul Citroen (47) noted that

in Germany, disintegrating in economic inflation, sufficient and decent food was only available at great cost ... A general undernourishment was the result, stomach and intestinal trouble the rule.

This affected not only the poor, but the middle classes as well. Bauhaus students did not escape. Food and medicine were both in short supply.

Felix Klee (41) observed how the pursuit of food became of prime importance during his time at the school:

A balanced diet was a basic concern of my adolescent years. What bad times those were! Inflation swelled apace, and we were all filled with concern for our daily bread.

At the Bauhaus some students were physically maimed because of war injuries. Poverty meant that others were sick through malnutrition and lack of medicine. New mystical doctrines claimed to restore spiritual wholeness through physical rituals. Mazdaznan which was centred on dietary ritual, became very popular at the Bauhaus. An ancient Persian religion related to Zoroastrism and introduced to the school by Itten, Mazdaznan promised to restore a wholeness of the body. It was particularly attractive to those unable to benefit from or unable to pay for basic medicinal treatment.

Citroen (47) wrote:

And so it naturally attracted all sorts of people with physical defects or maladies that could not be relieved by ordinary medical means ... most of us did not look blooming.

Bauhaus students re-enacted physical deprivation or illness through Mazdaznan rituals of fasting and dieting.

Paul Citroen continued:

Health and everything connected with it, such as breathing, movement and nutrition, played an important role in Mazdaznan.

Mazdaznan was semi-institutionalised at the Bauhaus in the early years. The Bauhaus kitchen, providing food for the school's students and most of the staff, operated according to Mazdaznan vegetarian principles. Vegetables and fruit were grown in the Bauhaus allotment and orchard, bypassing the inflationary economy and providing basic, though not always adequate, nutrition for the students. This formalised a necessity—a vegetarian diet was economically and practically inevitable to keep hunger at bay.

However, its ritualisation through Mazdaznan also transformed a literal lack of food into symbolic lack (fasting and rigid dietary rules), representing it as a higher level of spirituality.

Citroen's words (48) acknowledged the relationship between ritualised self-denial and the spiritual redemption to be achieved through the Mazdaznan diet:

for the poorer and less talented cooks among the Mazdaznans, it was a really difficult time. For while ordinary mortals could consume anything they could get hold of, we who were contemplating a higher plane of existence had to select among the few things available, and this selected

diet must be prepared in a special way and enjoyed in proper sequence and with proper concentration.

Rather like the war reminiscences of the traumatised veteran, fasting allowed students to come to terms with (and in Silverman's terms eroticise) the practical and unavoidable experience of hunger as 'Imaginary lack'.

According to Citroen (52), fasting

opened up unknown regions of feeling ... In the end it was a pity to have to leave this exalted, almost unearthly state.

His account (51) of fasting described how students would take a strong laxative and, depending on the individual, eat nothing for a week or two:

Fasts were the high point of our training ... We attempted and actually attained a thoroughgoing, internal physical cleansing, provided we kept strictly to instructions and above all broke fast in a wise manner.

Fasts formed part of a number of other rituals. These included very hot baths (during one of which the semi-starved Paul Citroen understandably fainted), the taking of purgatives and scrubbing with ashes or charcoal, all ostensibly to achieve cleansing of the spirit. The most bizarre ritual consisted of the ritualised infliction of pain, which was to lead to further spiritual purity.

Paul Citroen (51-52) continued:

There was, among other things, a little needle machine with which we were to puncture our skins. Then the body would be rubbed with the same sharp oil which had served as a laxative. A few days later all the pinpoints would break out in scabs and pustules—the oil had drawn the wastes and impurities of the deeper skin layers to the surface. Now we were ready to be bandaged. But we must work hard, sweat, and then, with continued fasting, the ulcerations would dry out. At any rate, that's what the book said. In actuality the puncturing didn't go according to plan or desire, and for months afterward we would be tormented with itching.

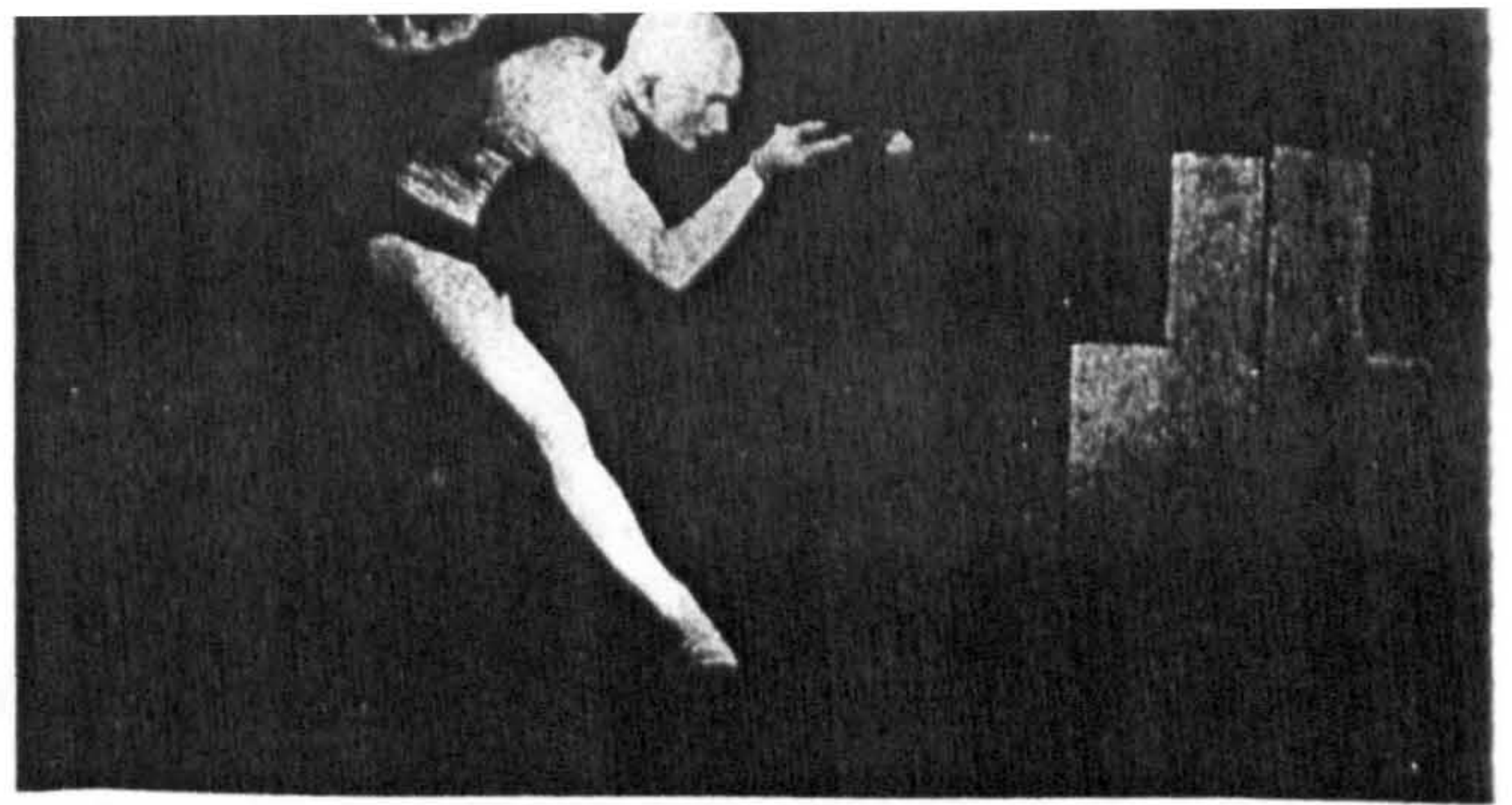
Such extremes of self-denial were masochistic in nature and can thus be seen as challenging the centrality of mastery inherent in the masculine dominant fiction. Silverman writes that masochism provides (Silverman 1993, 189) a crucial 'mechanism for eroticising lack and subordination', which can normally only be safely acknowledged by the female. Silverman continues that

the male subject, on the contrary, cannot avow feminine masochism without calling into question his identification with the masculine position.

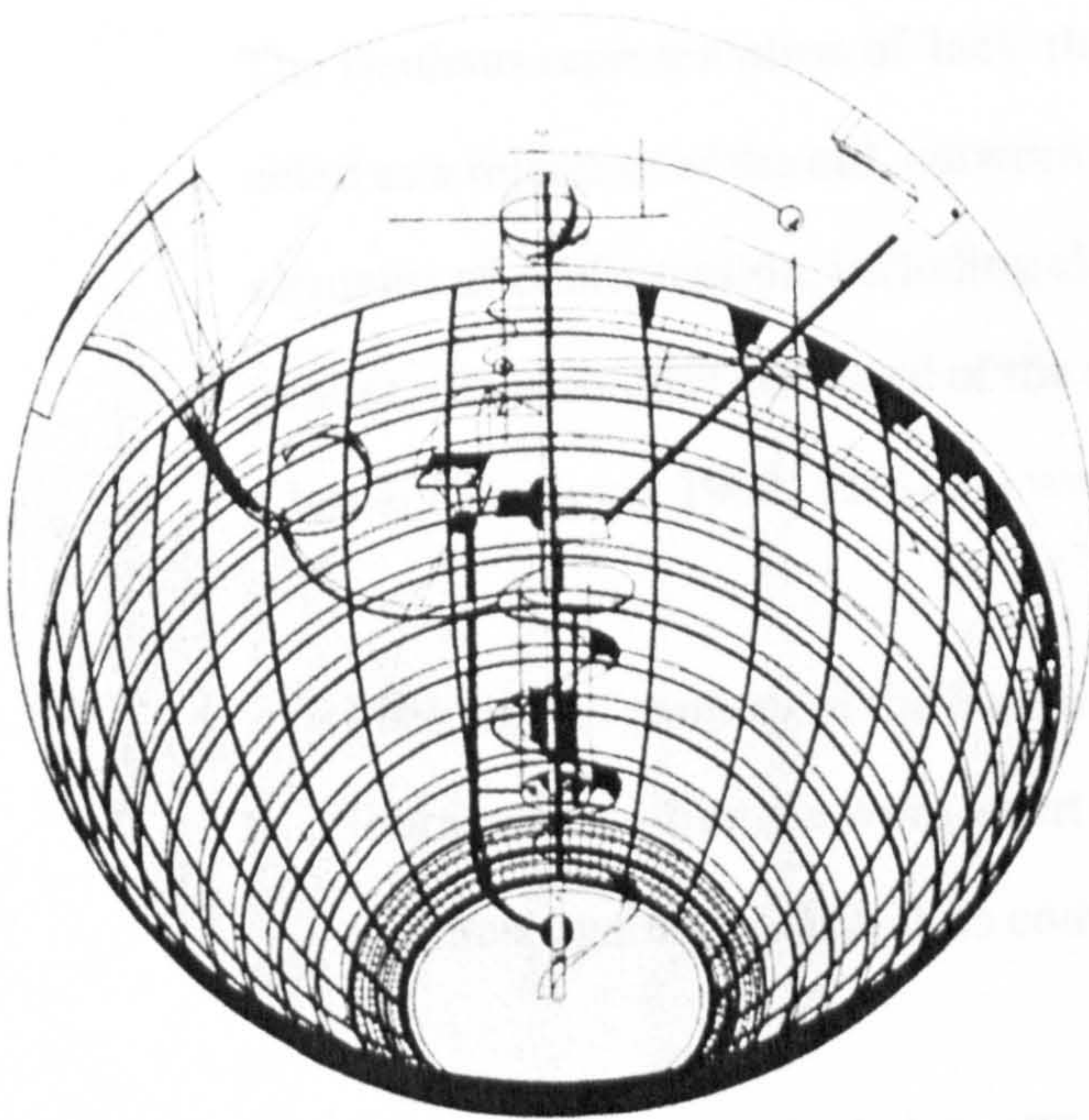
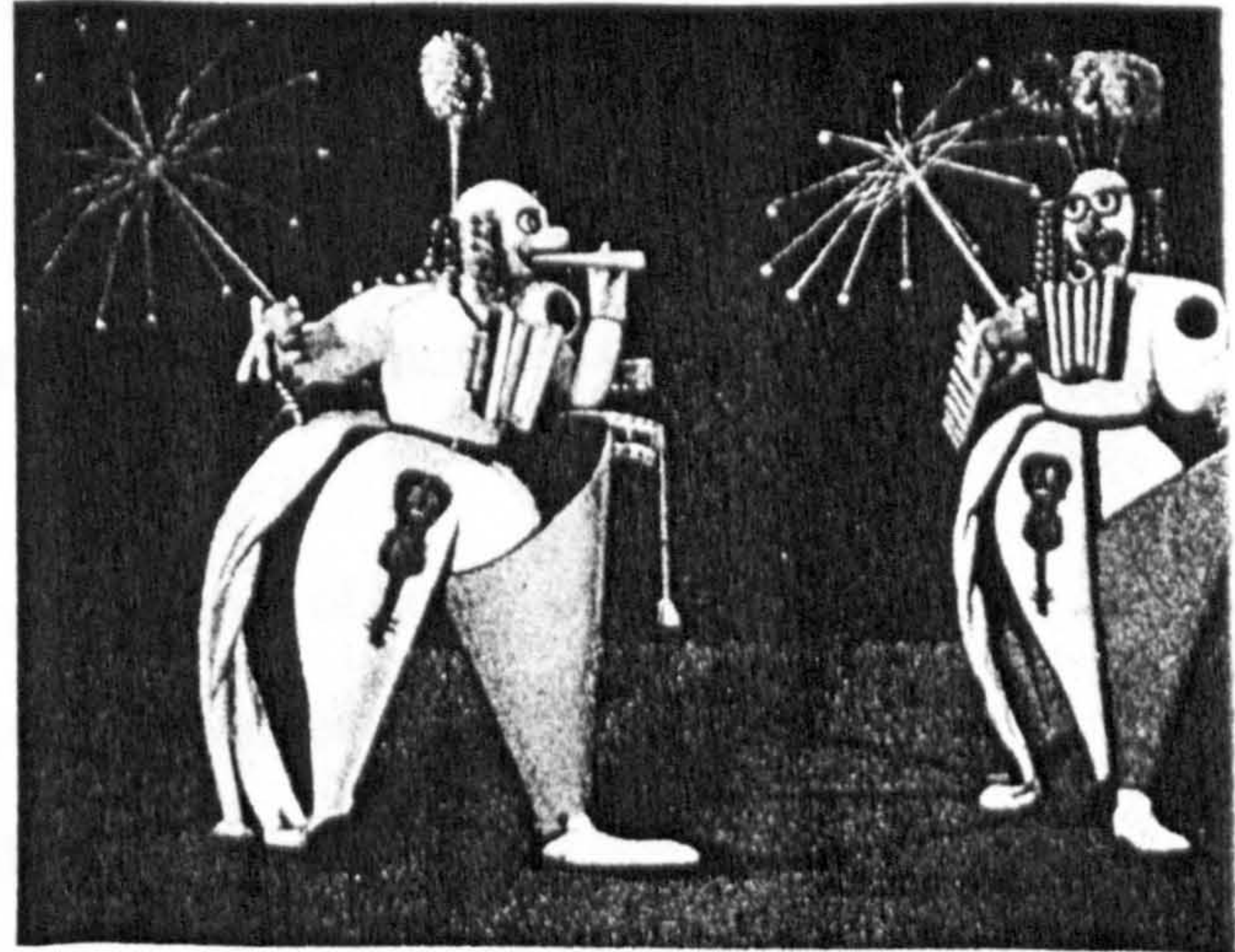
Fasting, bathing, sweating, exercising and marking of the body elevated everyday privation to a level where physical discomfort could be associated with pleasure. Itten's 'loosening' exercises, the shaving of male students' heads (dissolving the connection between hirsuteness and masculinity) and, far more importantly, the Mazdaznan dietary and purification rituals eroticised the lived experience of lack and subordination by rewarding obedience with precious praise and a sense of social belonging.

Fasting, self-mutilation and dieting displaced fears of the disintegration of identity onto physical actions of the body and thus made these fears controllable. These rituals also acknowledged the pleasure that Bauhaus students experienced in re-enacting 'lack' and so represented and eroticised a feminine element within the collective Bauhaus identity. Challenging underlying assumptions about gender, this laid the foundations for more specific experiments in gender identities.

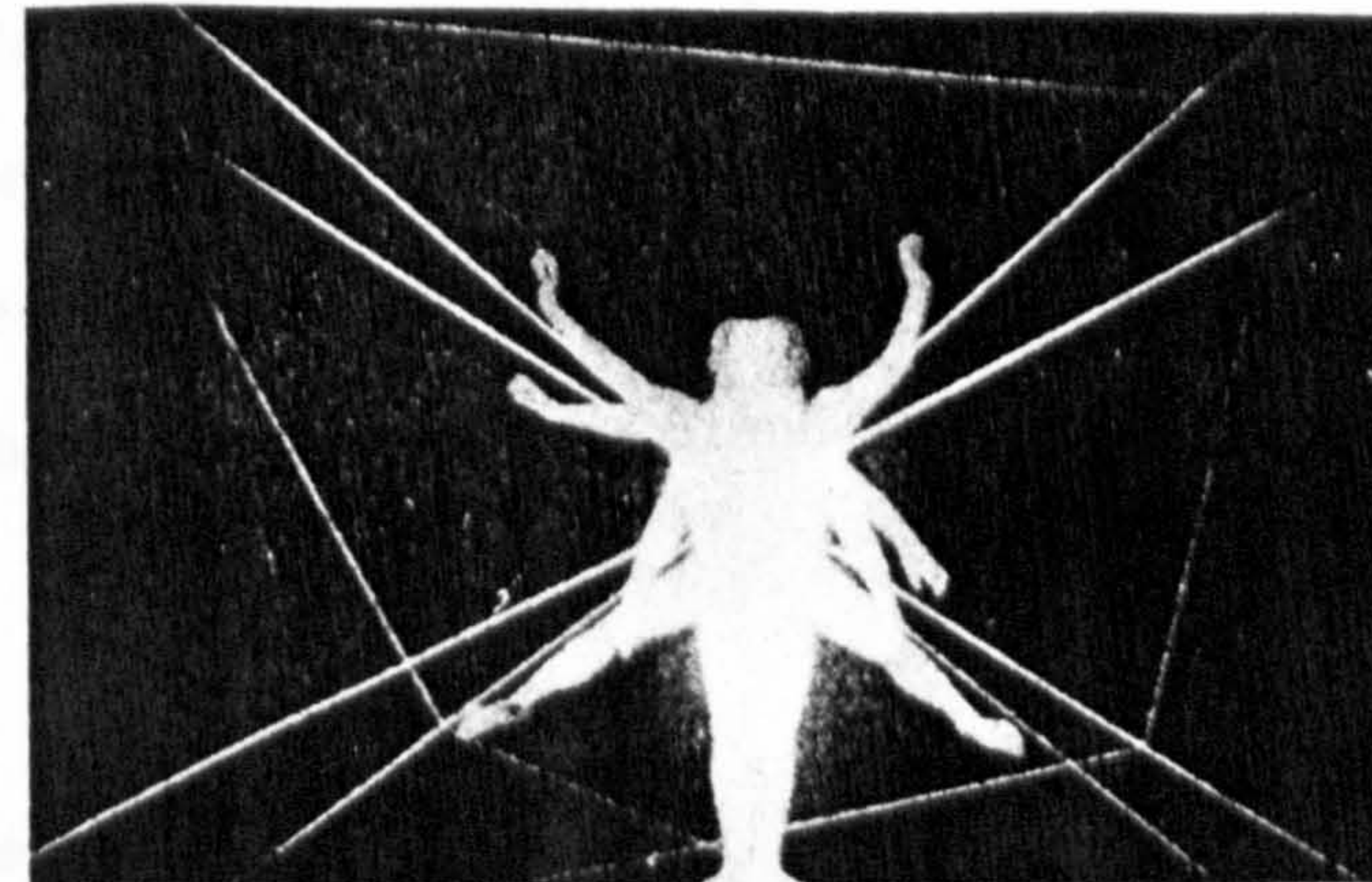
oskar schlemmer: box
play. danced by siedoff



oskar schlemmer:
musical clown. danced by
andreas weininger



andreas weininger:
design for a spherical
theater. the spectators sit
along the interior surface
of the globe; each
overlooks the whole
interior, is drawn toward
the center and is,
therefore, in a new
psychological, optical and
ac ustical relationship to
the whole



11.4. Representing Lack: Licentiousness

My greatest striving is to leave everything in suspense, in ordered motion, so as to prevent the student body from lapsing back into an academically benumbed state.

Walter Gropius Letter to Ferdinand Kramer (Neumann 1993, 81)

The Bauhaus representation of 'lack' through regimes of bodily control acted as a rejection of the old, outworn system of values. It contained elements of confrontation, including challenges to norms of class and gender. Class conflict consisted of the rejection of bourgeois tradition. Erich Lissner (Neumann 1993, 110-111) wrote:

I belonged, for many of the Bauhaus members—apprentices and journeymen—like me wore a sort of Russian smock and sandals. It was a protest against middle-class conventions'.

This was partly a rhetorical claim. The smocks had, in fact, been left behind by Russian prisoners of war and were used by Bauhaus students because they were the cheapest clothing available. Yet this corporate dress also allowed students to redirect their double 'lack'—their own poverty and the donning of clothing belonging to prisoners (even if the eventual winners of the war)—by using its associations with the Soviet Republic as an anti-bourgeois symbol.

At the time many Weimar citizens were doing exactly the opposite—making strenuous efforts to recover at least the signs if not the reality of pre-war bourgeois and aristocratic lifestyles. The emotive popular support for the old Academy was one example of Weimaraners' desire for the institutional comfort associated with the old world. Their appeal to a stable if mythic tradition tried to symbolically counter the social instability, poverty, hunger, injury and disease of the Weimar Republic.

Bauhaus students, on the other hand, opposed the old order. The Bauhaus students' symbolic rejection of traditional appearances created friction between school and town. Paul Klee (45) wrote:

... we had a very isolated life in Weimar. We were often thoroughly boycotted by the townspeople.

They used clothing and bodily appearance because, at the beginning, there was little else to distinguish them from local citizens. They knew that Weimaraners' recognised the representation of 'lack' through appearance as a powerful political symbol. Tut Schlemmer (Neumann 1993, 165), writing mainly about Bauhaus dress, said:

One enraged the citizens, they were hurt—I believe the philistines remembered us a long time.

By 1924 the students and staff had become the focus of strong local criticism. Miller Lane's documentation of the controversy over the Bauhaus at Weimar (Miller-Lane, 1968) outlined in Chapter 9 identifies the depth of local resentment. The popular press, local politicians, leading cultural figures and even employees of the old Academy rejected Bauhaus teaching and united to try and remove the Bauhaus from the city. The citizens' distrust of the appearance and behaviour of Bauhaus students played a part in the worsening relationships between the school and the city.

Weimaraners projected their fear of social disintegration symbolically onto the Bauhaus community. Miller Lane cites Konrad Nonn, a local journalist, (82) who feared that

[t]he subjectivism of instruction at the Bauhaus ... only releases instincts which lead to chaos'.

A more powerful threat of the Bauhaus was not to middle class values, but to gender boundaries. Even if not all students followed Itten's rigid dress code, most rejected gender conventions of dress and appearance. Tut Schlemmer (Neumann 1993, 164), describing the Bauhaus community in the early 1920s, wrote that:

[a]t first people let themselves go. Boys had long hair, girls short skirts. No collars or stockings were worn, which was shocking and extravagant then ...

It is not difficult to find an economic explanation for lack of hair cuts and absence of collars and stockings. However, conditions caused by financial hardship were also translated by students into a challenge to gender roles.

Masters too played with gender identities. Oskar Schlemmer (43) used the Bauhaus theatre (ill. 11.4 and 12.6) and festivals to reverse gender roles:

[o]n the stage at the Ilmschlösschen Schlemmer had set up two sets featuring headless characters. The boys took the women's parts and vice versa.

Students and masters realised the power of appearance to question masculine and feminine stereotypes. Their gender play was, however, projected back by the citizens of Weimar onto the appearance and social behaviour of the Bauhaus community as literal sexual transgression—as promiscuity. The *Weimarische Zeitung* in an article on the Bauhaus dated 13 June 1924 claimed that licentiousness was rife at the Bauhaus, stating that one student had become pregnant and another had had an affair with a master. The article warned that '[p]eople must be prevented from sending their sons and daughters there.'

There was certainly some foundation for this criticism. E. Michael Jones (1995, 87), writing about Gropius, states that '[b]y the second semester of his first year there, he was also sexually involved with a young, attractive

student-widow'. Gropius' affair with Maria Beneman was not a one-off aberration. Whilst it took place at the same time as his divorce from Alma Mahler, he also continued his long-standing relationship with his mistress Lily Hildebrandt. Jones sets a historical context for the loosened sexual conventions of the period by continuing (my brackets) that 'as a result of the war and the mortality rate among German soldiers, there were lots of these [widows] around'. Whilst this explains, it does not condone Gropius' and other masters' relations with students and contextualises Weimaraners' conservatism.

Jones' thesis, linking Gropius' embrace of modernism to the state of his sexual relations is not given a theoretical grounding and overemphasises Gropius' ego. It's journalistic prose is problematic but it does sketch a sexual climate at the Bauhaus in the first years following the war which helps explain the threat that the citizens of Weimar felt to the patriarchal conventions.

Weimaraners rejection of the Bauhaus as a hotbed of sexual depravity also linked sexual morality to political morality. The *Zeitung* article continued (my brackets):

And the consequence of all this [Communism] which can be seen in the life of the Bauhaus community!!! ... We don't need to name individual cases in which [immorality] ... is publicly celebrated by the students.

Whilst sexual transgression was associated with a threat to political stability, the unconventional pedagogic structures of the school became identified with a threat to individual sanity.

Miller Lane (1968, 81), referring to a Weimar publication (general, 1924b) criticising the Bauhaus, wrote that

it listed instances of immoral behavior among students and faculty ...
and it described cases of insanity among the students caused, it said, by the teaching methods of the school.

The radical image of the Bauhaus took priority over its rather more sober economic practices and therefore became a political problem.

When the self-elected 'otherness' of the Bauhaus community became a threat, it had to be controlled by being reconfigured as 'madness' by the citizens. Lothar Schreyer (Neumann 1993, 74) observed:

Many Weimaraners called us Bauhäusler, and it sounded like convict—it had the taste of horror and fear.

Perhaps the most explicit representation of the fear that the Bauhaus and its teachings held for the average citizen of Weimar was contained in another attack on the school by Franz Kalbel in the issue dated August 24th 1923 of

Deutschland (my brackets). Kalbel's text equated mechanisation with the destruction of identity:

when the machine penetrates ... [the home] it pulverises the last impulses of the individual personality, my own corner, where I and 'I' meet.

The model Kalbel used to describe the disintegration of the self resembles (Lemaire 1977, 87) Lacan's 'division between the I of existence and the I of meaning' which characterises the entry of the Subject into the patriarchal Symbolic order of the Oedipus. This interpretation of Kalbel's statement suggests that the Weimaraners' association of the Bauhaus with mechanisation and destruction of an integrated and stable identity rested on their recognition of the threat to masculinity and the sexual order through the Bauhaus' revelation of the void at the heart of social identity. The pleasurable if masochistic play of the Bauhaus community represented a profound terror for the Weimaraners.

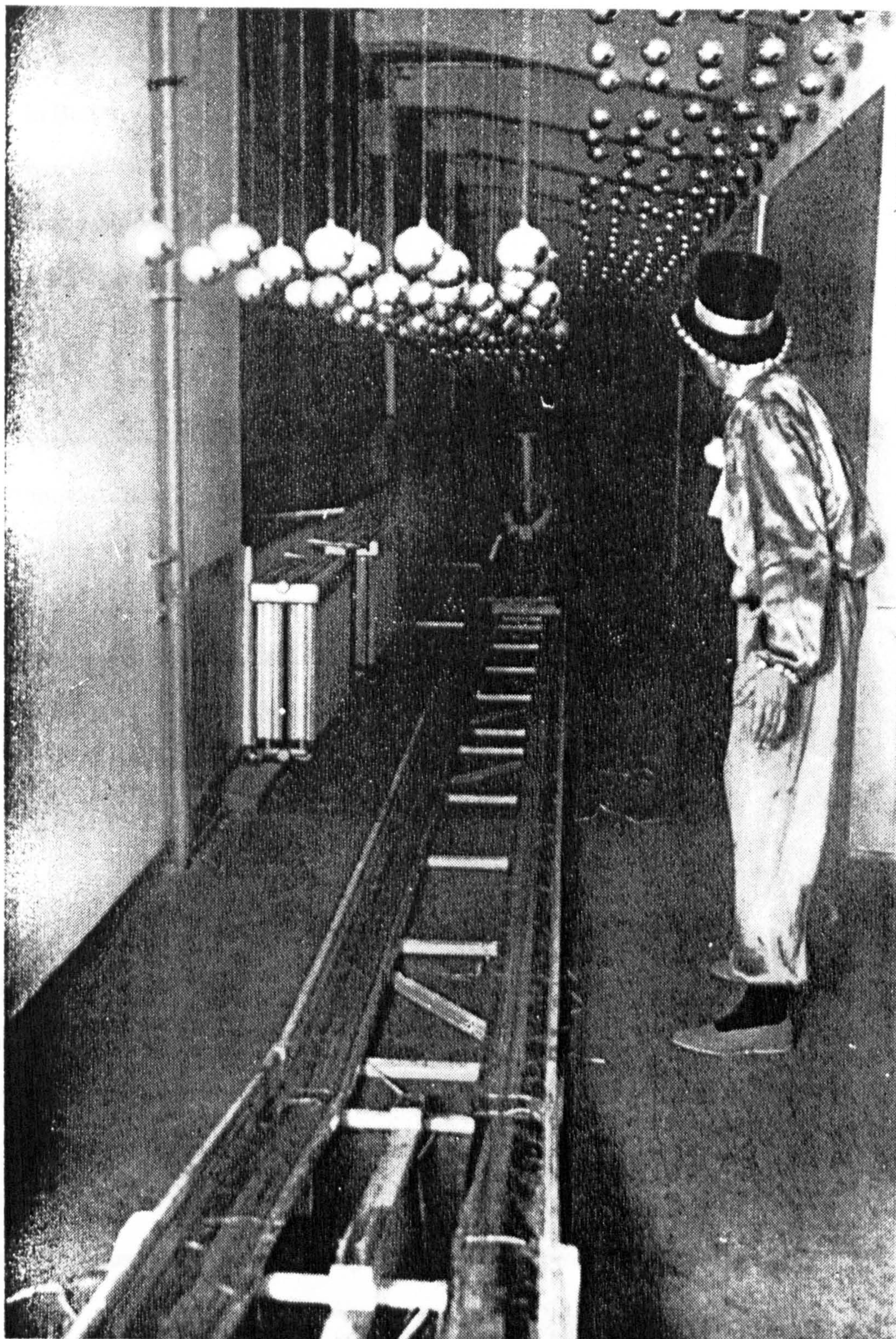
Criticism of the school by the popular press eventually also extended to racist remarks. Miller Lane (1968, 238) states that:

In general, anti-Semitism played a very minor role in the Weimar controversy, but that it was present at all was prophetic.

Weimar journals claimed that the Bauhaus contained subversive Jewish-Bolshevik elements, citing the nationalities of teachers like Kandinsky. This criticism extended to Bauhaus architecture. In 1927, as National Socialist sentiment rose in Dessau, the Bauhaus buildings were dismissed within the local Jena newspaper (*Jenaische Zeitung*, July 27, 1922) as 'an attempt to return to the primitive art forms of inferior races'.

This forced the Bauhaus to counter-claim with statistics showing that nearly all the students were German or of German origin. These statistics still appear in the 1938 catalogue, where the only non-Germanic students listed are two Hungarians. This suggests that xenophobia may still have been an issue for the Bauhaus in the USA. In an anti-Semitic response in *Vom Weimarer Bauhaus* (Weimar, 31 December) the patriotic statistics used by the Bauhaus are anonymously rebutted by asserting that Germanness is a matter of race and not citizenship.

Weimaraners contained the threat of the Bauhaus to their unconsciously held values by dismissing the Bauhaus as a 'foreign' body—sexually licentious, mad and of inferior race. Bauhaus experiments in identity found little local acceptance and resulted in the increasing political and cultural isolation of the school. The initially confrontational reconstructions of identity were to become more internally and internationally rather than locally focused. Eventually they also became more conciliatory and conservative, but not before significant and positive reconstructions of the educational habitus had taken place.



11.5 'Metallic Festival', track between the workshop wing and the vocational classroom wing, Bauhaus Dessau, 1929

11.5. Imaginary Fantasy: Festivals

Afterward everybody said it was the handsomest festival ever mounted in Berlin. We played as never before, the guests appeared in the most marvellous costumes, but the rooms were half empty. The restaurant concession complained that there wasn't enough eating and drinking. The waiters were making long faces; every penny in the till was gone toward the rental of the premises. Our throats were dry. The crowd was not supposed to see that anything was wrong. It did not. The mood was permeated with unaccustomed formality, almost dreamlike. People moved about ceremoniously but freely, as if coached by talented director. Everybody was having a good time, as we could very well see from the bandstand, where, in spite of a show of high spirits, deep depression reigned ...

The party went on. No one had noticed anything.

Xanti Schawinsky

Bauhaus and Bauhaus People

(Neumann 1993, 161-162)

The Bauhaus' challenge to the dominant fiction consisted not only of masochistic pleasure in the re-enactment of 'lack' but also of a positive enactment of multiple, desirable identities through Imaginary fantasy. This took place through the twin vehicles of the Bauhaus festivals and theatre. Festivals became a major outlet for creative energies from the beginning of the Bauhaus. Itten, as has already been suggested, was very aware of the

role of the school in the construction of a cohesive cultural identity through ritualised behaviour. He wrote (Rasch 1955, 151):

To build the Bauhaus—to build it up—to unite—to assemble different forces into a unified organism—to bring the play of forces into harmony, to festivity. Play becomes festival—festival becomes work—work becomes play.

Festivals and dances were particularly popular in the early years of the Bauhaus, occurring in association with exhibition openings, birthdays, concerts, or simply for their own sake.

The teaching year consisted of four main festivals. Gropius' birthday in May coincided with the traditional Festival of Lanterns and became a vehicle for celebrating the leadership. A month later the Midsummer-night Festival provided another symbolic opportunity to represent control over fear. Felix Klee (Neumann 1993, 43) wrote: 'The bonfire was lit, and we jumped bravely and daringly over the flames.' In October, students took part in the Dragon (or kite) Festival which, consisting of a procession through Weimar, had a strong public presence and some participation from Weimaraners. Finally, Yuletide was celebrated at Christmas. The origins of these festivals were pagan; they were not invented by the Bauhaus but were adapted for school celebrations.

Festivals were linked to the Bauhaus theatre. Felix Klee wrote that (42–43, my brackets): '[e]veryone worked for them [the festivals] with great

enthusiasm. Oskar Schlemmer prepared his theatre especially for them'. However, they were symbolically more powerful than the theatre because, rather than members of a particular year, everyone participated. Felix Klee (44) continued:

My dear friend, you have no idea how important festivals were at the Bauhaus — often far more important than the classes. They made the contact between master, journeyman and apprentice far closer ... The masters radiated their influence on the students in the most positive way. They could develop all the more freely because they had enough time and were not hindered in their personal development by an overly rigid schedule. And there was a reciprocal action by the students on the teachers. One could call it a living 'give and take' such as I have never again come across to such an extent.

Klee can be interpreted as describing the making of a habitus through Imaginary fantasy. The 'living 'give and take"' is an intuitive description of the formation of collective identity through negotiated play, the 'where masters 'could develop all the more freely' because they were not constrained by an 'overly rigid' identity. Silverman writes (1993, 6) that

[s]ince a crucial part of learning to desire is the assumption of a desiring position, fantasy would also seem to involve the insertion of the subject into a particular syntax or tableau, and so to play an important part within the formation of identity.

This suggests that the non-pedagogic and therefore apparently peripheral rituals at the Bauhaus were in fact central to the formation of collective identity. Bauhaus festivals constructed a space and structure for fantasy through which the Bauhaus community learned how to desire, invent and consolidate a new identity.

In addition to the post-war destabilisation of masculine identity in the Weimar Republic generally, represented through pedagogic and extra-curricular ritual instituted by the masters, a further impetus to restructuring of collective identity came from the youth of the Bauhaus community. Buck-Morss outlines (Buck-Morss 1989, 262) Benjamin's Arcades Project as a testing ground for a theory of the utopian power of childhood:

Benjamin's theory of the dreaming collective as the source of present revolutionary energy requires an understanding of the significance of childhood generally for his theory of cognition ...

She continues (263) to describe Benjamin's fascination for children's cognition, echoing Silverman's description of imaginary fantasy:

[w]hat Benjamin found in the child's consciousness, badgered out of existence by bourgeois education and so crucial to redeem (albeit in a new form), was precisely the unsevered connection between perception and action that distinguished revolutionary consciousness in adults.

Using Buck-Morss' and Silverman's arguments, it is also possible to see that Bauhaus festivals used the incomplete absorption of students into the dominant fiction as an opportunity for Imaginary fantasy to play with and reformulate social convention.

Festivals were voluntary yet everyone took part in them. They were occasions for relaxation, so their content was less consciously examined. Xanti Schawinsky (158) wrote:

To foregather *in corpore* for impromptu dancing and theatricals, and thus, in relaxed mood, to engage in jocose yet acute exchange of thoughts that busied minds in the isolation of their work.

The festivals also provided opportunities for formal experiments: paper lanterns were made for the Lantern Festival, symbolic presents were produced for Yuletide and kites were assembled for the Dragon Festival. The objects produced could be highly elaborate. Students clearly delighted in producing and receiving them. The interviews with Bauhaus students in Neumann (1993) provide numerous descriptions of fascinating presents produced for festivals. Masters too participated. A particularly telling present given by them to Gropius consisted of abstract paintings based on a photograph of a megaphone addressing a mass-audience (ill. 3.2).

Costumes played a significant part (ill. 11.5). Students spent valuable time and scarce resources producing them. Students and staff without the

appropriate party dress had to pay higher entrance fees to the festivals.

Festivals could be highly theatrical, playful and even surreal.

Felix Klee (43-44) wrote about the Yuletide festival:

With great hue and cry a student dressed as an angel dragged a closed wash-basket to the door, tore it open, and practically threw the presents into our midst. There were large and small packages with names on them. We unwrapped one in high expectation, and there was another, a smaller package with another name on it. Each package was handed around until finally the very last one produced the gift itself ... The Schlemmers had just had two daughters, Karin and Jaina, born in the coachhouse of the Belvedere Palace. That night Oskar received thirteen more daughters with marvellous imaginary names.

The exuberance of form sometimes overtook the original function of the festival itself. Tut Schlemmer (165) wrote that 'every fall one celebrated the Festival of Kites with fantastic creations that sometimes were so beautiful, they could not even fly'.

Many of the festivals had a visible public presence in the cities of Weimar and Dessau. They varied from processions through the city, performances in beer halls, gatherings in the countryside, and performances in the Bauhaus itself. The most public was the Kite Festival, celebrated in the hills above Weimar 'where we let our abstract dragons sail in the wind, much to the surprise of the inhabitants below' (43). Tut Schlemmer (165, my

brackets) added that '[t]hey [the kites] were ... proudly carried through the city, thus reconciling some of the angry citizens and making them our friends'.

The festivals were therefore one of the few successful occasions when the citizens of Weimar could become accustomed to the people and products of the Bauhaus. Through the playful and celebratory, yet also traditional nature of the festivals the Bauhaus community represented a collective identity that did not threaten the Weimaraners. Imaginary fantasy was tempered by traditional social forms and, because it was also presented as play, did not have to be taken totally seriously. The coupling of utopian identity with historical precedent, allowing the participation of the Weimaraners, and the 'living 'give and take" inherent in play meant that the festivals were the only events at the Bauhaus in which the citizens of Weimar could take pleasure and yet also challenge the dominant fiction.

Festivals provided an opportunity for improvisation in appearance and movement—costumes, masks and dances. Unlike 'those marvellous exercises' (41) in Itten's class, the students rather than the masters had invented these forms of ritualised movement, embodied in the Bauhaus dance. Felix Klee (42) wrote:

And we did our Bauhaus dance. There were exact rules: it was a passionate stamping, for which we needed much space. We danced in couples, not embracing but separated—today's dances often remind me of it.

Through this bodily code ('exact rules') Bauhaus students were able to 'recognise themselves' even in moments of reverie. They depended on a 'mirror image' of a second member of the pair to confirm the rules of the dance. However, unlike the traditional bourgeois dance, the pair was no longer physically linked. Each half of the pair could temporarily 'couple' with other dancers.

Silverman, describing fantasy, writes (Silverman 1992, 5, author's italics) that:

At that level of the fantasmatic which determines how the subject concretely lives its desire, however, the fantasmatic functions as a veritable showcase for the *moi*. Not only is it a '[script] of organised scenes which are capable of dramatisation', generally 'in a visual form', but 'the subject is invariably *present* there'.

The structure of Bauhaus festivals combined organised scenes of tradition with fantasies of estrangement; within the festivals' scenes, unfamiliar forms were invested with recognisable symbolic and functional value (kites, lanterns). Felix Klee has suggested that the usefulness of the festivals lay in allowing the 'masters' to 'radiate' their influence; in addition, through their adherence to traditional forms, they acted like Althusser's double-mirror, playfully alienating even as they 'bound' together the school. They used Imaginary fantasy to revise the Symbolic order of tradition, not merely through objects and bodily appearance, but also through new forms of

social behaviour. They involved, if only minimally, the local population. Bauhaus festivals were therefore effective models for multiple reconstructions of social identity. They acted as an informal stage for playing out collective desires, where the official innovations of the Bauhaus were dismantled and reconstructed.

of a vast automaton requiring a tremendous technical equipment. modern engineering can produce such equipment; it is only a question of money.

but there is also the question of the extent to which such equipment would be justified by the effects obtained. how long can a spectator's interest be held by rotating, swinging, humming machinery, even if accompanied by innumerable variations in color, form and light?

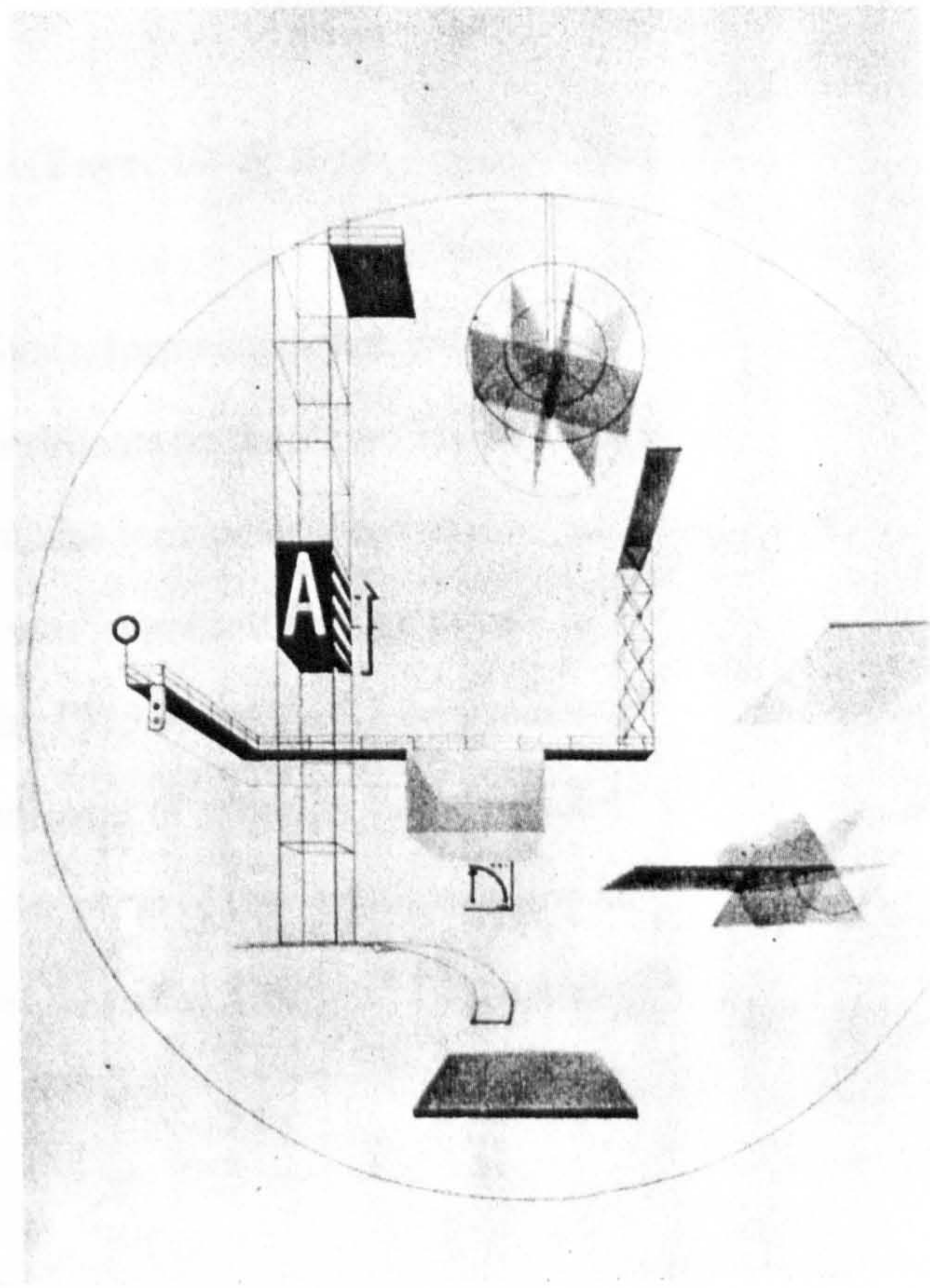
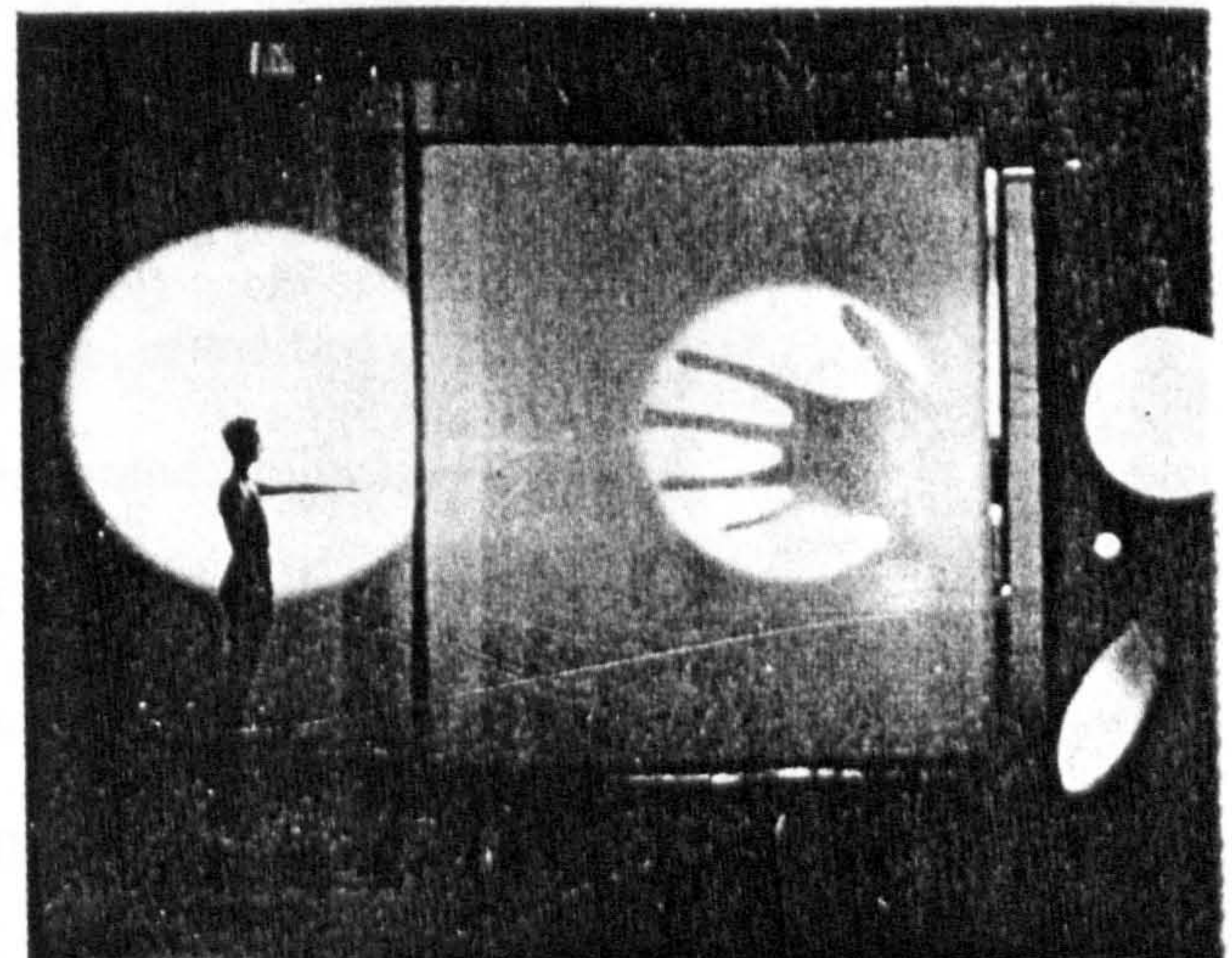
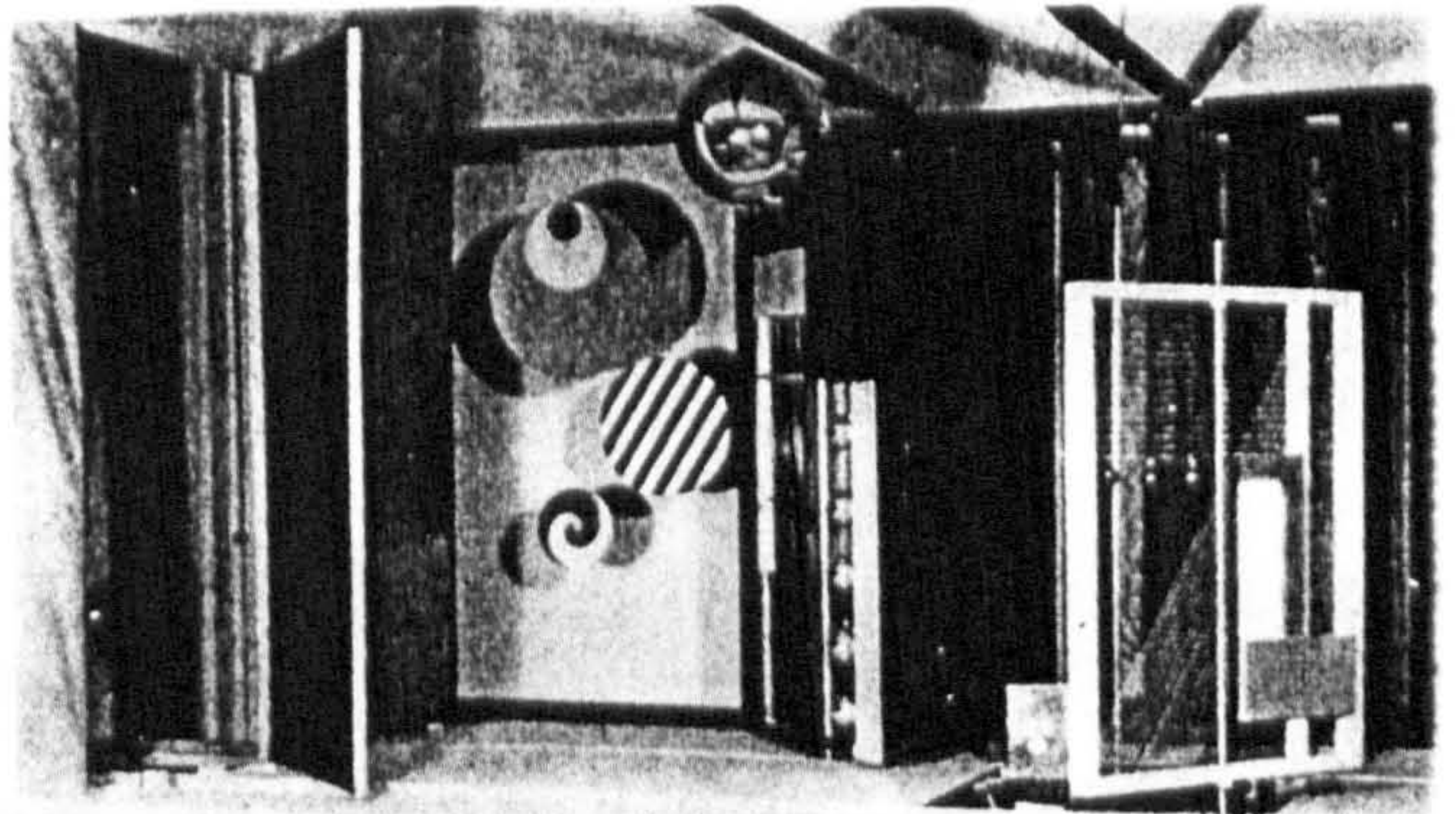
is entirely mechanized drama to be thought of as an independent genre, can it dispense with man except as a perfect mechanic and inventor?*

since at present no such mechanically equipped stage exists, and since our own experimental stage until now has had even less equipment than the regular theaters, the human actor continues to be an essential element of drama for us.

and he will remain so as long as there is a stage. he is the antithesis of the rationally constructed world of form, color and light; he is the vessel of the unknown, the immediate, the transcendental—an organism of flesh and blood as well as a phenomenon existing within the limits of time and space. he is the creator of an important element of drama, perhaps the most important—speech.

we admit that we have cautiously avoided this problem so far, not because it does not concern us, but because we are well aware of its significance and want to master it slowly, for the time being we are satisfied with the mute play of gesture and movement, with pantomime, but firmly believe that some day we shall develop speech quite naturally from them. we want to understand words, not as literature, but in an elementary sense, as an event, as though they were heard for the first time.

* i am speaking of completely independent mechanical automata, not of the mechanization and technical renovation of stage equipment — the theater of steel concrete and glass with rotating stage, film projections, etc.—which is meant to serve as a background for performances by human actors.



11.6. Imaginary Fantasy: Theatre

Theatrical performance, which has a kind of orchestral unity, is closely related to architecture. As in architecture the character of each unit is merged into the higher life of the whole, so in the theater a multitude of artistic problems form a higher unity with a law of its own ... Its program consists in a new and clear formulation of all problems peculiar to the stage. The special problems of space, of the body, of movement, of form, light, color and sound are investigated; training is given in body movements, in the modulation of musical and spoken sounds; the stage space and figures are given form.

The Bauhaus theater seeks to recover primordial joy for all the senses, instead of mere esthetic pleasure.

Walter Gropius Bauhaus 1919-1929 (Bayer 1975, 29)

The unofficial fantasy of the Bauhaus festivals, formed a direct, extra-curricular counterpart to the curricular experiments on the stage. The official innovations in collective identity at the Bauhaus took place through the theatre workshop. Theatre at the Bauhaus was important enough to be singled out just before the conclusion to the 1923 essay *The Theory and Organisation of the Bauhaus*, as the embodiment of a 'higher unity' parallel only to architecture (29). Schlemmer's description of the stage workshop at Dessau (162, 164) also formed the longest text after Gropius', Barr's and Dorner's essays.

The choice of figures from Schlemmer's Triadic Ballet for the front cover of the catalogue underlined the Bauhaus' interest in reinventing not only objects but also (162, Schlemmer's italics) human beings, actions and spaces:

if we go so far as to break the narrow confines of the stage and extend the drama to include the building itself, not only the interior but the building as an architectural whole—an idea which has especial fascination in view of the new bauhaus building—we might demonstrate to a hitherto unknown extent the validity of the *space-stage*, as an idea.

The space-stage here potentially becomes another term for the habitus. Just as the Bauhaus workshops were intended to absorb everyday objects and their functions into the activity of design, thus extending the scope of the commodity sign, so the Bauhaus stage transformed everyday human appearance and behaviour into aesthetic form. Whereas the workshops produced the ideology of products for the new age of mass-media, the theatre designed a new identity for their producers and consumers. Teaching in the theatre workshop recognised that the new ideology had to extend beyond the curriculum to reconstruct spatial and social behaviour and that this had to take place through fantasy (theatre) before it could take place in reality (architecture).

In fact, because students took the theatre workshop before the architecture course, in the second and third years of the curriculum, and the architecture course did not begin until 1927, the theatre formed the first real Bauhaus

experiments with space and programme. The spatial and figurative dream-imagery of the theatre workshop preceded the constructional and programmatic invention of the building department. Theatre came before architecture.

In 1919 the school began without a space for a theatre workshop at all, but the idea of theatre (unlike architecture) was so important to Bauhaus masters and Gropius himself that the theatre workshop used any space it could find for performances. The course was led by Lothar Schreyer from 1921 to 1923 but acquired its real reputation under Oskar Schlemmer who replaced Schreyer in 1923 and wrote the scripts for the performances. The theatre workshop produced every aspect of performance, from costumes and masks to scenery, mechanical systems and sometimes lighting. It gave performances at Weimar and beyond, and therefore acted as yet another part of the publicity machine.

Schlemmer had previously taught art, particularly painting and sculpture in stone and wood. His chosen tools therefore became painterly and spatial, consisting of form, colour and space. The human figure was therefore also explored through these categories. His ambitions were (Neumann 1993, 169)

to make *tabula rasa*, throw over board all the former ballast, and start again, unbiased, with the *ABC's*, namely with the elements.

The theatre connected the design of objects and space to that of the body, as a *Gesamtkunstwerk*. It was a legitimate, institutional extension of Bauhaus design principles to the human body itself. It formed the clearest, most consciously articulated mirror-image that the Bauhaus community offered up to itself. In allowing the body of the student to act and be acted upon by the institution, the Bauhaus theatre also dissolved the division between the collective and the individual through which institutional life distinguishes itself from personal life. This allowed the transmission and incorporation of Bauhaus ideology. It indirectly sanctioned the unofficial regimes of bodily control described in Section 11.2 and 11.3 and formalised the 'living 'give and take' of the festivals. The term *Gesamtkunstwerk* should therefore be seen, in the Bauhaus theatre at least, as the legitimising idea for the habitus.

However, the body in Bauhaus theatre had a specific identity. Specific references to gender were either erased or both genders combined in the same figure. The actions of the human figure were largely confined to silent performance and pantomime; words were conceived of as a separate element to be juxtaposed later, not necessarily (Bayer 1975, 164) following a narrative:

we want to understand words, not as literature, but in an elementary sense, as an event, as though they were heard for the first time.

Speech was to form a new language and was then seemingly eliminated. Traditional forms of communication were removed to allow new signs to

emerge. The artifice of the body and its mechanical obedience to stage direction was fully acknowledged (Neumann 1993, 169):

Humans were presented as an event ... their metamorphosis through costume and mask; their acting as a lifeless puppet, as a marionette, and thus a possible exaggeration of the figure.

The Bauhaus theatre departed from precedent in making explicit the definition of actor (Bayer 1975, 164) as a mechanism: 'for the time being we are satisfied with the mute play of gesture and movement, with pantomime'. Whereas in traditional Western theatre the figure had remained an instrument for representing naturalistic illusion, the Bauhaus theatre exposed the body as a theatrical automaton—a focus for the assembly of form, light, movement and, only later, speech.

This sensibility laid the ground for the mechanisation of the actor's body. Costumes during the Schlemmer period were derived from abstract, geometric studies, inspired by mechanical parts. Thus 'the superimposition of various coats borrowed from ... the bric-à-brac of its prop department' that Lacan (1975, 155) ascribes to the ego, originated, in the Bauhaus, from the new universe of machines themselves. There was an intentional partial loss of distinction between self and mechanical object.

The visibility of the principle of mechanisation and abstraction in the Bauhaus theatre resonates with Silverman's understanding (Silverman

1992, 3, author's italics) of the construction of identity during the Imaginary phase:

At its deepest level—i.e. at the point at which it falls most fully under the influence of the primary process—the fantasmatic is 'characterised by the absence of subjectivisation', and 'all distinction between subject and object [is] lost'. The subject has no fixed locus, and can consequently take up residence anywhere, even at the site of the fantasy's verb or action.

The representation of 'lack'—the absence of subjective experience of the self—was achieved by the mechanisation of the actor's appearance and gestures, and by the ultimate absence of the individual self. Schlemmer (Bayer 1975, 162) continued:

Let us consider plays consisting only in the movements of form, colours and lights. If the movement is purely mechanical, involving no human being but the man at the switchboard, the whole conception would have the precision of a vast automaton.

Here, however, Schlemmer could not ultimately face the void at the heart of being that the theatrical automaton suggested.

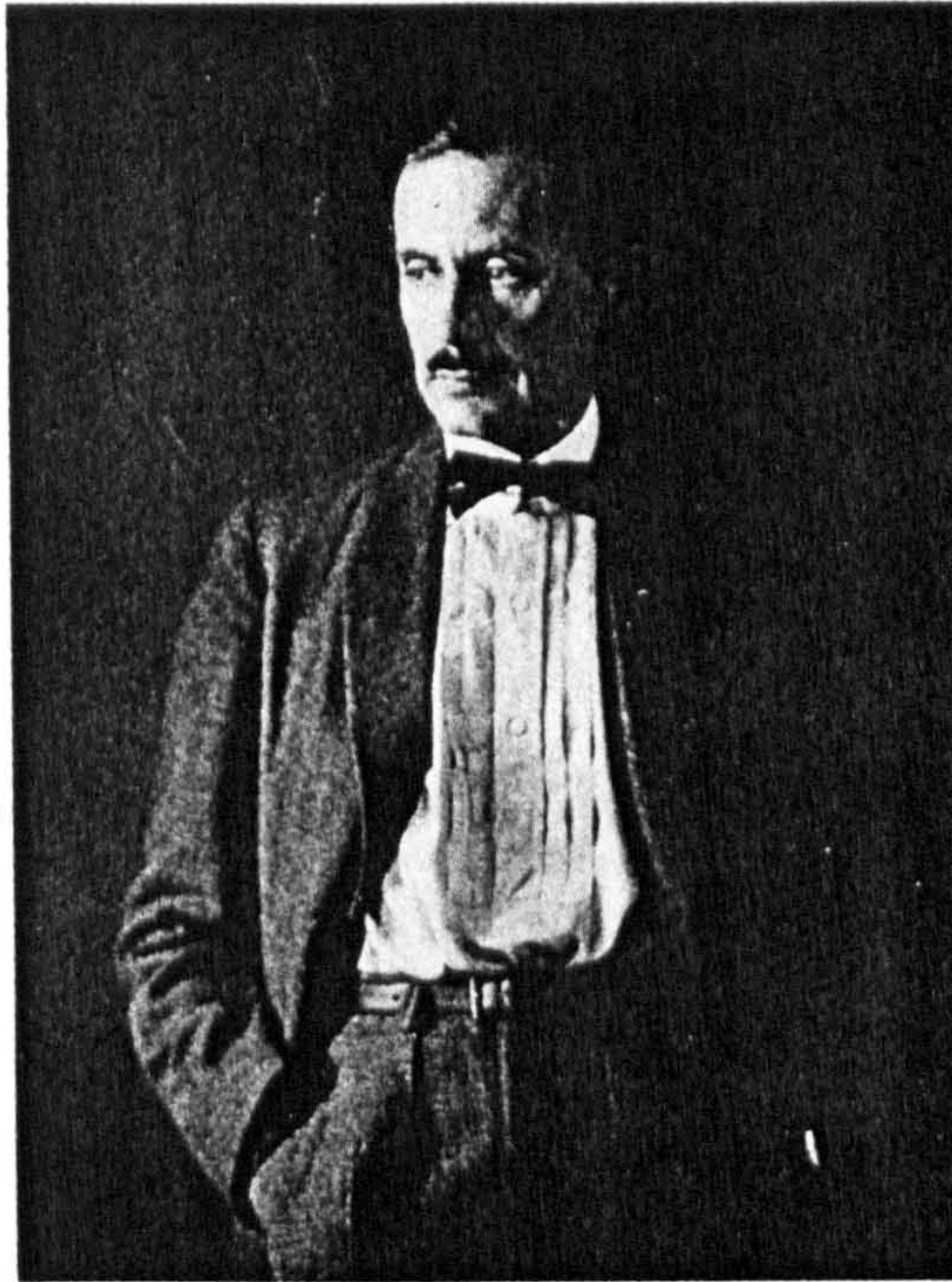
Schlemmer therefore immediately reasserted (164) the importance of the actor as a communicating, desiring being, stating that the actor:

is the antithesis of the rationally constructed world of form, color and light; he is the vessel of the unknown, the immediate, the transcendental—an organism of flesh and blood ...

Yet 'flesh and blood' was denied by the abstraction of bodily form and lack of spontaneous gestures. The frequent erasure of gender identities in the Bauhaus theatre reinforced the ideological androgyny of the new collective identity. The automaton was in principle still a fixed, homogenous entity. Representing ideological neutrality and fixity, it remained an Oedipal symbol. The new producers, consumers and inhabitants of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* became objects in a series and (Baudrillard 1983, 86) 'neutral values only, that can be exchanged in an objective world'. The fluidity and playfulness of Imaginary fantasy, explored more openly through Bauhaus festivals, were lost.

Walter Gropius

14



From a photograph of 1923



Ise Gropius, née Frank, joined the Bauhaus community in 1923

- GROPIUS, Walter.** Architect, writer. Born, Berlin, 1883
- 1903 Studied architecture, Munich
 - 1905-1907 Studied architecture, Berlin
 - 1907-1910 Assistant to Peter Behrens, Berlin
 - 1910-1914 Private practice
 - 1914-1918 Served in the German army
 - 1918 Appointed Director of the Grossherzogliche Sächsische Kunstgewerbeschule and the Grossherzogliche Sächsische Hochschule für Bildende Kunst
 - 1919 Union of the two schools under the name Bauhaus (Staatliches Bauhaus Weimar)
 - 1925 The Bauhaus moves to Dessau with all teachers and students (Bauhaus Dessau, Hochschule für Gestaltung)
 - 1928 Resignation from post as Director of the Bauhaus to resume private practice
Member of the board of the Research Institute for Building Economy of the German Reich
 - 1929 Appointed "Dr. ing. honoris causa," by University of Hanover
 - 1934 Moved to London
 - 1935 Went into partnership with Maxwell Fry, A.R.I.B.A.
 - 1937 Appointed Senior Professor, Department of Architecture, Harvard University
 - 1938 Appointed Chairman of the Department of Architecture, Harvard University
 - 1951 Honorary Doctorate of Technical Science, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio
 - 1952 Professor Emeritus, Harvard University
 - 1953 Honorary Doctorate of Architecture, North Carolina State College
Honorary Doctorate of Arts, Harvard University
 - 1954 International Grand Prix of Architecture (Matarazzo Prize) Sao Paolo, Brazil
Honorary Doctorate of Science, University of Sidney, Australia
Fellow of the American Institute of Architects
 - 1956 Royal Gold Medal, The Royal Institute of British Architects, London
 - 1957 Hanseatic Goethe Prize, Hamburg

11.7. The Symbolic Order: Law-of-the-Father

The dominant fiction will be seen not only as that which mediates between the subject on the one hand, and the symbolic order and the mode of production on the other, but as that which functions to construct and sustain sexual difference.

Kaja Silverman Masculine Subjectivity at the Margins (1992, 8)

The return to the dominant fiction was gradual but irreversible. Gropius recognised the local political consequences of the Bauhaus' initial rejection of social and gender hierarchies. This formed part of the many ideological differences that erupted between him and Itten, which continued until Itten left in 1923. Following Itten's departure, and with the re-emergence of economic stability, the Bauhaus returned, in part at least, to more conventional corporate identities.

From 1923 onwards, with the growing focus at the school on standardisation, mass production and collaboration with industry, Gropius increasingly affirmed that the artist should wear conventional clothing. This was taken, of course, to mean male clothing and examples of great figures were held out for emulation, such as Gropius himself. Other aspects of teaching at the Bauhaus also showed an increasing reinforcement of conventional gender divisions.

The worship of heroic father-figures had begun already with Itten. Paul Citroen's recollections (Neumann 1993, 47) represented an extreme reverence for the distance and authority of leadership, but also identified the pleasure in overcoming it in a closer, more personal relationship:

Itten exuded a special radiance. One could almost call it holiness. We were inclined to approach him only in whispers; our reverence was overwhelming, and we were completely enchanted and happy when he associated with us pleasantly and without restraint.

Gropius too became a figure of worship, initially in a highly interesting manner. His birthday was celebrated (43) by the entire Bauhaus community as the Festival of the Lanterns:

On May 18 of every year we celebrated Walter Gropius' birthday with the traditional Festival of Lanterns ... Before the festival we gathered at the Bauhaus where we lit our selfmade lanterns at twilight.

It was Gropius, not Meyer or Mies, who was credited with the Bauhaus successes and became its symbolic figurehead. Bayer wrote this paean regarding their first meeting, as part of his much longer poetic tribute *Homage to Gropius* (142):

gropius wore black trousers, white shirt, slim black bow tie
and a short, natural-colored leather jacket

which squeaked with each movement
his short moustache, trim figure and swift movements
gave him the air of a soldier
(which in fact he had been until recently).
gropius manner of dress was in contrast
to the generally fantastic individualistic appearances
around the bauhaus.
it was a statement of his opinion
that the new artist need not oppose his society
by wearing dress that, to begin with,
would set him apart from the world he lives in

The organisation of the 1938 catalogue reflects the role that Gropius played as the 'father' of the Bauhaus. Following the introduction by Barr, and the brief Bauhaus history by Alexander Dorner, the catalogue begins with a double-page spread (ills. 11.7 and 11.8). At the top, above a large photograph of Gropius—the largest photo of an individual in the catalogue—is his signature. Below this large photo is a small one (about a quarter of the size) of his wife Ise. To the right of both photographs a column of text contains Gropius' curriculum vitae. Gropius' key built projects executed before his arrival at the Bauhaus face the couple from the opposite page. To the left of Ise's photo is her maiden name and date of arrival at the Bauhaus—1923, well after Gropius. No other information is given about her life, despite the fact that she is credited as co-author: her curriculum vitae does not appear at the end of the catalogue, or in the Biographical Notes, where the curricula vitae of other Bauhaus figures are

collated. In fact, there is only one curriculum vitae of a female teacher in the catalogue, that of Gunta Stadler-Stölzl, despite the prominent activities of Marianne Brandt and Tut Schlemmer at the Bauhaus.

Unlike her husband, Ise Gropius is not facing the camera but, rather looks pensively to the right, as if she were watching the work produced by her husband. Her arm, raised as if pointing to Walter's buildings, is cut off by the photograph at the shoulder. Ise's marginalisation through the absence of information, and the size and cropping of the photograph is accentuated by a subtle transformation of her photograph. A thin white and almost unnoticeable frame on the top and right-hand side emphasises her image as a picture rather than as reality, and differentiates it from Walter's' one above and those of his buildings to the right. A small and barely visible shadow drawn on the right of the photo further reinforces her pictorial status.

The page on which Gropius first appears can be said to represent and heighten his status as originator and author of the Bauhaus (the signature is the sign of authorship) and as patriarch (his large photograph above a small 'picture' of his wife). Further proof of his cultural capital is contained in his curriculum vitae and, more significantly, in the buildings pictured on the opposite page, testifying to his productive capacity well before his arrival at the Bauhaus. Finally, his photographs and buildings precede even the Bauhaus manifesto. It is only the next spread of the catalogue that contains his 1919 Bauhaus manifesto (ill. 9.5 and 8.4); the next, photographs of 'the family'—twelve male Bauhaus masters complete with signatures (ill.

7.2.4). Gropius' essay on the organisation of the Bauhaus then follows (ill. 9.4).

The low status given to the work of women staff and students in particular is emphasised in the catalogue by the paucity of information about their work. Gunta Stadler-Stölzl is the only workshop 'mistress' who is included in the biographical section. Stölzl ran the weaving workshop, in which almost all of the female students worked and which made the greatest profits for the Bauhaus business. This gender ghetto followed traditional biblical myth of weaving as the main legitimate female area of work associated with architecture. Droste describes (Droste 1993, 41) the artificial angelic poses of students from the weaving workshop photographed by Walter Hege (ill. 5.4). Indeed, photographs of students of the weaving workshop (Neumann 1993, 202 and Droste 1993, 40 and 41) show only women. One of these photographs—T. Lux Feininger's photo of female weaving students (ill. 1.1)—inspired Schlemmer's 1932 famous painting of the Bauhaus staircase (ill. 1.0) which forms the cover of Wingler's important work on the *Bauhaus* (Wingler 1980) yet in which the author offers no documents relating to the status of women at the school.

Documentation of female students' activities in the Bauhaus archive is scarce and needs further research. References appear in a few meetings of the Council of Masters and occasionally in speeches. The information in this section is therefore mainly derived from the collection of Bauhaus reminiscences gathered by Neumann (1993), the archive itself, and scant

references in other, less scholarly books such as Howard Dearstyne's *Inside the Bauhaus* (Spaeth 1986).

Käthe Brachmann, a student writing in the Bauhaus student magazine *Der Austausch* in 1919, represented (Dearstyne 1986, 49) the necessarily overly grateful position of female students at the school:

So we women, too, came to this school because we, every one of us, found work to do here, which we durst not neglect! May no one begrudge us this work! Thanks to those who already accord it to us!

Magdalena Droste, in a sub-section titled 'Women at the Bauhaus' (Droste 1993, 38) wrote that Gropius had originally anticipated having 100 men and 50 women at the Bauhaus. The source document to which Droste refers (the projected Bauhaus budget for 1919/1920) also lists higher fees for female students (180 marks in comparison to 150 marks for male students).

Weimar legislation gave women equality of access to study. In 1920, there were (Bitterberg, 1975) 78 male and 59 female students at the Bauhaus. Yet as the two genders continued to apply in equal numbers, the entry of women students at the Bauhaus was restricted. Already in September 1920 Gropius and the Council of Masters decided (Gropius 1920) that

selection should be more rigorous right from the start, particularly in the case of the female sex, already over-represented in terms of numbers.

Droste (Droste 1990, 40) observed Gropius' reluctance to conduct any 'unnecessary experiments' (in her view a euphemism for the rejection of equal access to female students) and noted his recommendations that women should be sent direct from the *Vorkurs* to the weaving workshop, with pottery and bookbinding as possible alternatives. She commented (40) that

much of the art then being produced by women was dismissed by men as 'feminine' or 'handicrafts'. The men were afraid of too strong an 'arty-crafty' tendency and saw the goal of the Bauhaus — architecture — endangered.

The omission from the catalogue's list of 'masters' of Marianne Brandt, 'mistress' of the metal workshop and originator of some of the most successful Bauhaus light fittings and other metal products, was also significant. Some of Brandt's work is shown, and it is possible that a photo of a woman working in the workshop may be of her (ill. 8.2), but her importance is not acknowledged. Although the catalogue claimed that one third of Bauhaus students were female, this is difficult to discern from the photographs and names of the authors of work shown, which are overwhelmingly male. Women at the Bauhaus faced obstacles when they tried to enter traditionally male areas of work. Brandt (Neumann 1993, 106), later wrote of her entry into the metal workshop:

At first I was not accepted with pleasure — there was no place for a woman in a metal workshop, they felt. They admitted this to me later on and meanwhile expressed their displeasure by giving me all sorts of

dull, dreary work. How many little hemispheres did I most patiently hammer out of brittle new silver, thinking that was the way it had to be and all beginnings are hard. Later things settled down, and we got along well together.

The building department was the most male-dominated one and had no female students at all. Droste (1993, 40) writes that 'no women were to be admitted to study architecture' at the Bauhaus.

Gropius, in his first address to the school (Gropius 1919d, 3, my translation), made it clear that the experiences of male students made them better artists than female students:

... the awakening of the whole man through trauma, lack, terror, hard life experiences or love lead to authentic artistic expression. Dearest ladies, I do not underestimate the human achievement of those who remained at home during the war, but I believe that the lived experience of death to be all-powerful.

This was direct recognition that 'lack', represented by the experience of trauma, stood as the driving force of artistic creativity, and that it was, in the post-war period, a masculine right and privilege further reinforced by the social contract between society and the soldier. Women were not permitted access to its newly authenticised expression as the embodiment of the creative ego.

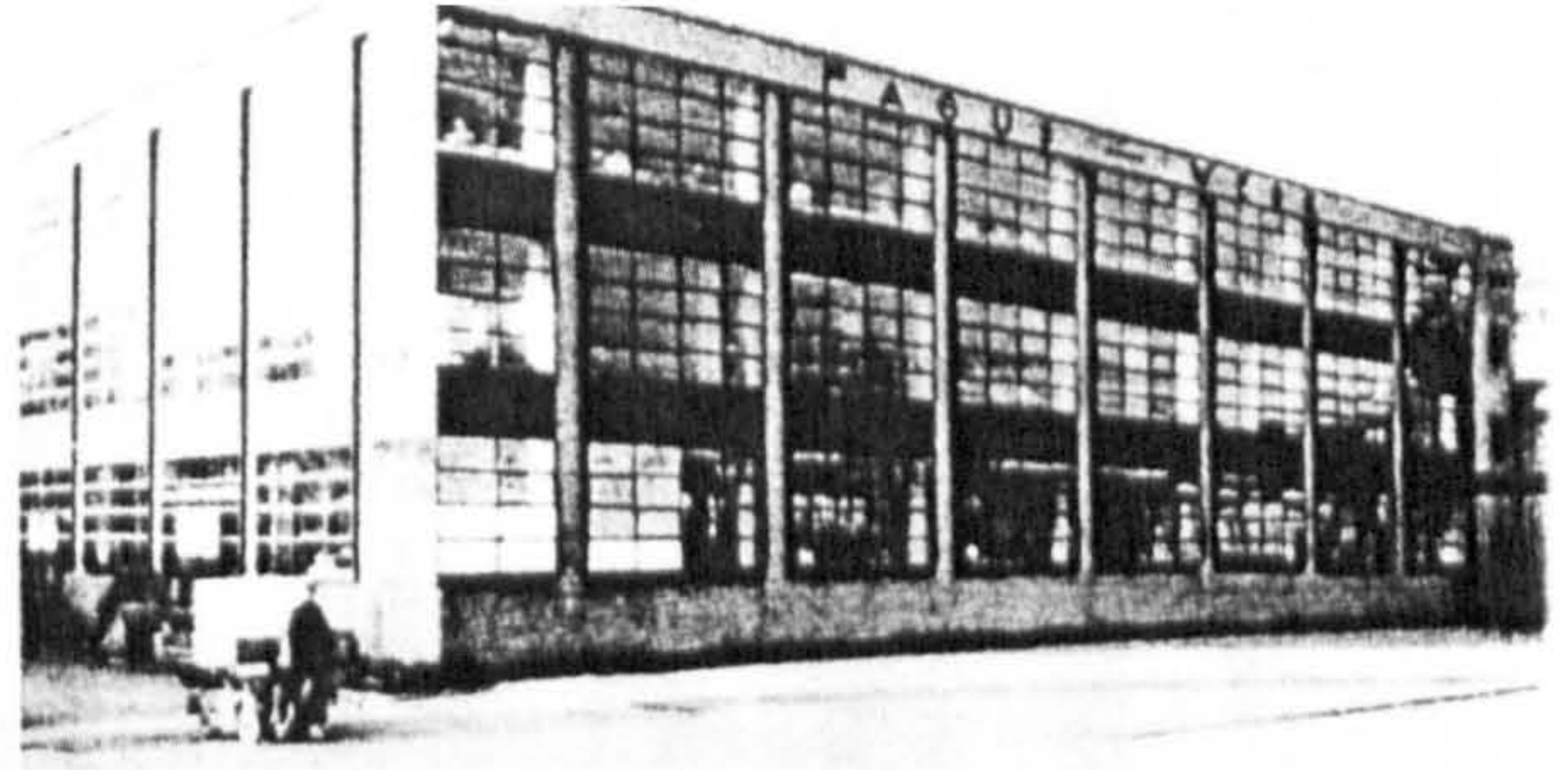
The importance of Gropius' statement lay in its recognition that 'lack' is not an essential female experience but that its cultural value is historically constructed. In a patriarchy which associated 'lack' with femininity and weakness, men could only adopt the representation of 'lack' if it were revalued to carry high cultural status through association with wholeness (the awakening of the whole man) and authenticity (authentic artistic expression). Gropius' statement elaborated on the Romantic notion of the suffering artist to link 'lack' to creativity and elevate it as purely masculine activity.

In general, the response of the Bauhaus to the trauma of war was to reconstruct personal identity through recourse firstly to quasi-military and neo-medieval ritual and secondly to a bodily iconography that symbolically promised sexual liberation but literally reinforced the traditional superiority of men over women. Appearance and behaviour were therefore ultimately directed to reinforcing the symbolic role of the male body and conventional masculine behaviour. Women may have worn short skirts and followed some of the Mazdaznan principles, but as students they continued to be trapped within the traditional sexual division of labour. Traditional social relations lay beneath the radical image of the Bauhaus.

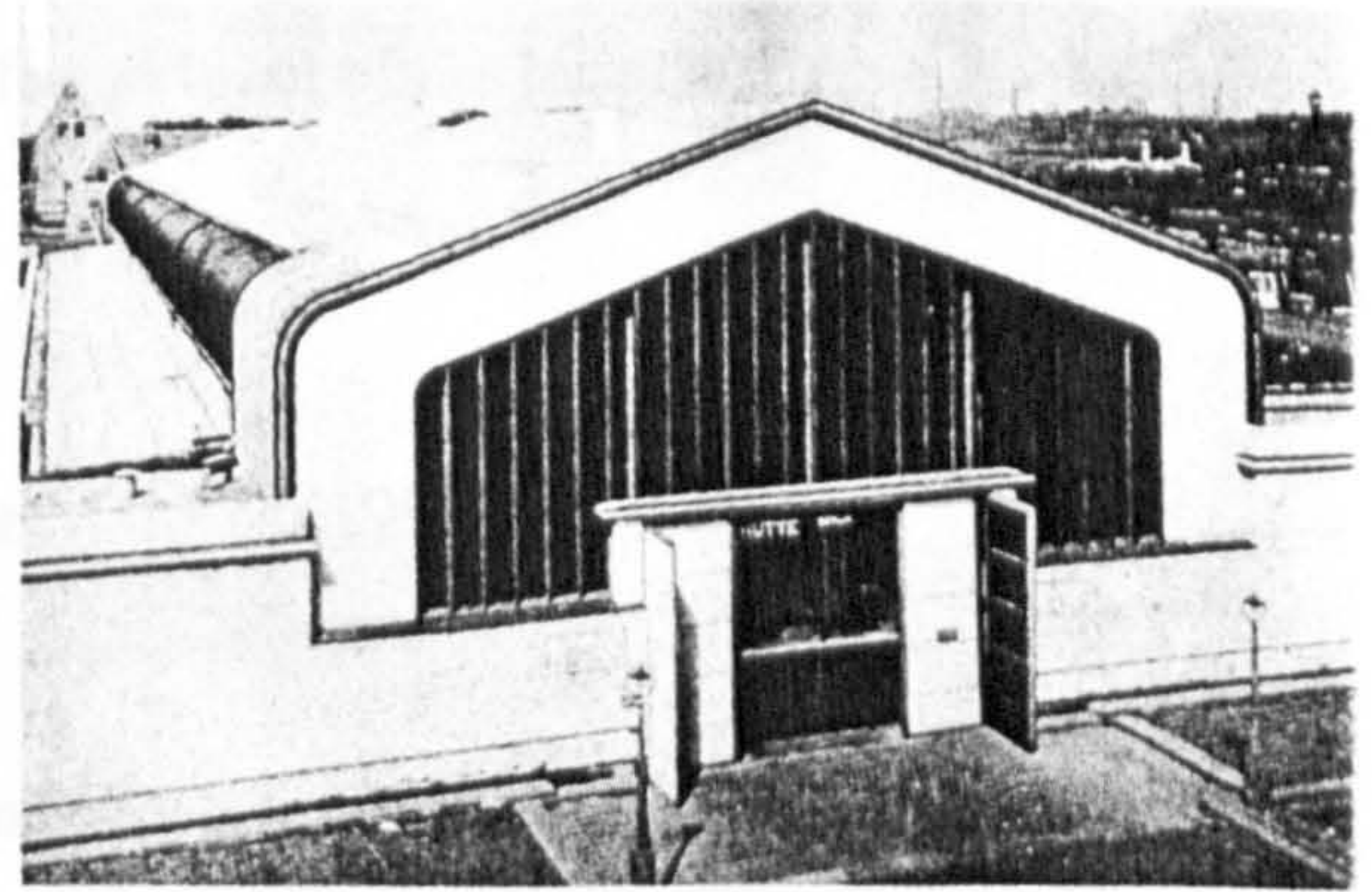
Ultimately, the new dominant fiction of the Bauhaus remained patriarchal. It privileged the male through excluding women's experiences (their lack of 'symbolic lack') and women's participation in classes (through higher fees, lower quotas and placement in traditional workshops like weaving and pottery). Symbolically (and safely) representing masculine lack as stable,

powerful and gender-neutral (rather than as volatile, weak and feminine), the new dominant fiction removed the threat to masculine stability by portraying it as a universal, asexual and objective phenomenon—beyond criticism and transformation. The construction of the new dominant fiction, despite its revolutionary rhetoric, seemed to reproduce the old one. Gender difference at the Bauhaus was ultimately sublimated into a neutralised 'indifference', masking a return to patriarchal models of the architect and designer.

Walter Gropius and Adolf Meyer: Fagus Shoe-last Factory, Alfeld - on - the - Leine. 1911

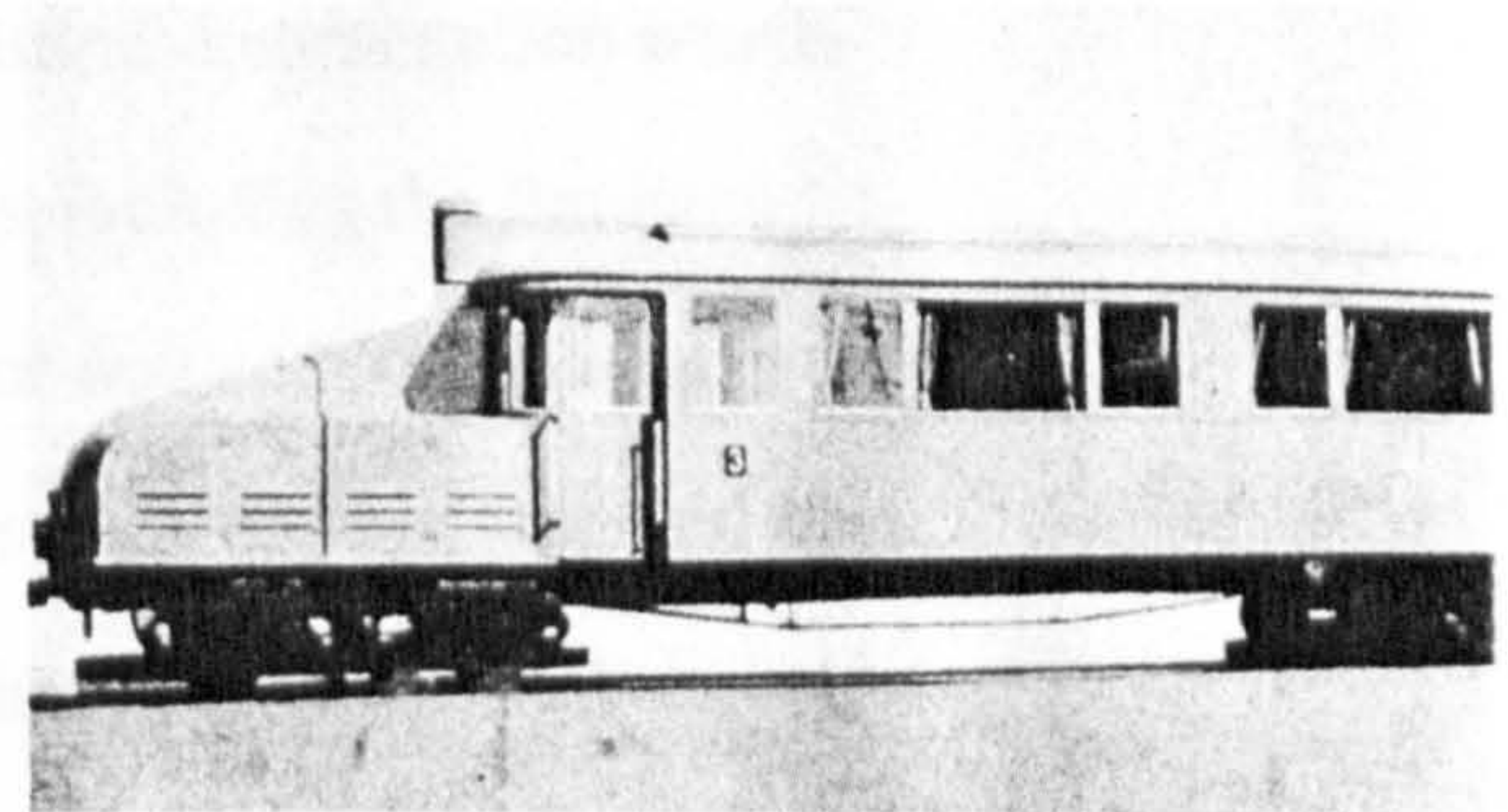


Walter Gropius and Adolf Meyer: Cologne Exposition of the German Werkbund. Hall of Machinery. 1914.

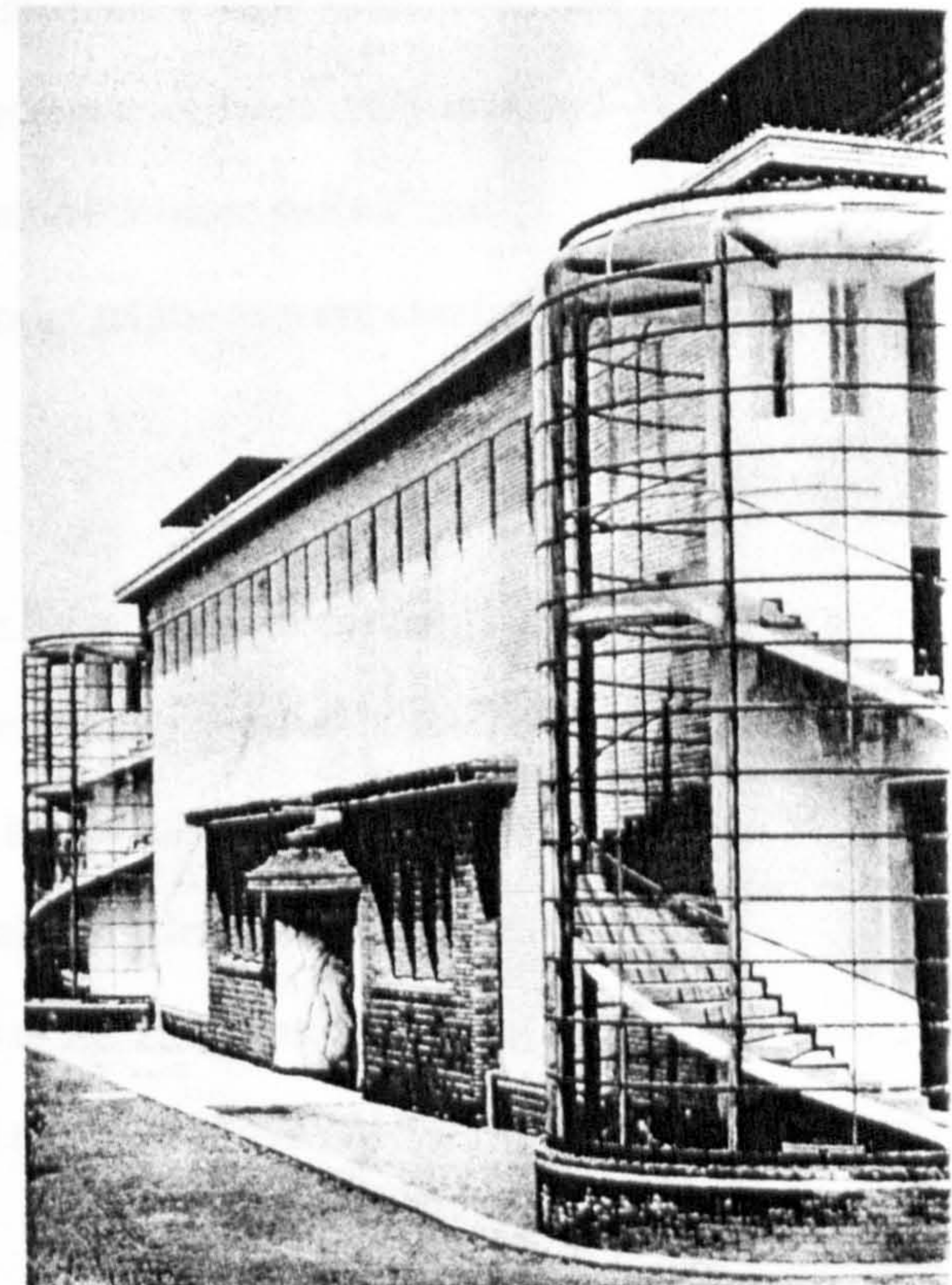


Walter Gropius' most important works before the Bauhaus

Walter Gropius: Diesel-driven locomotive car designed for a firm in Danzig. 1914



Walter Gropius and Adolf Meyer: Cologne Exposition of the German Werkbund. Administration Building. Front view. 1914



11.8. The Dominant Fiction

...if ideology is to successfully command the subject's belief, then it must necessarily intervene at the most profound level of the latter's constitution.

Kaja Silverman Male Subjectivity at the Margins (1992, 8)

The economic and social after-effects of war in the Weimar Republic created conditions of extreme poverty, hunger and cultural disorientation which affected the everyday lives of German citizens, including the Bauhaus community. At the Bauhaus the after-shocks of war undermined the authority of the inherited social, economic, aesthetic and architectural order and released utopian desires that questioned inherited ideas of education, practice and professional identity. Such utopian desires were short-lived; the manner in which the fractures in collective identity were eventually repaired affirmed the power of dominant social relations over more radical and unstable models of identity. Yet for a time gender relations were creatively destabilised.

The opening up of the labour market after the First World War had important social and political implications for women. However, their partial economic and social enfranchisement at this time was too great a threat to the dominant fiction of masculinity already destabilised by war and privation. The economic and social practices at the Bauhaus, following a period of experimentation, ultimately upheld the ideology of objectivity and

neutrality to ensure that the radical class and gender implications of its economic and social changes were glossed over and nullified. Female students remained in the weaving and pottery workshops.

Nevertheless, there are important lessons to be learnt from Bauhaus experiments in identity. There was a sequence of clear relationships between Bauhaus imagery, gender identity and economic conditions which parallel Benjamin's schema of dream-images transforming into dialectical images.

The struggle over the dominant fiction of social identity at the Bauhaus was divided into phases that paralleled economic change within and outside the school. The first phase, 1919—1923, represented the immediate response to post-war economic crisis and political upheaval. This was the period of the Benjaminian dream image. In parallel to changes taking place in the Weimar Republic, it was characterised by a masochistic model of masculinity. For a short period, masculine behaviour acknowledged weakness and alterity and replaced the traditional Oedipal cornerstone of identity by a ritualised spectacle of the disintegration of identity, self-punishment, gender confusion and corporate submission. This crisis of identity also affected the gender- and class-based habitus of the traditional professional architect.

Drawing in part on ur-historical models, fantasies of masculinity said 'no to power' by symbolically anticipating utopian gender and class relations.

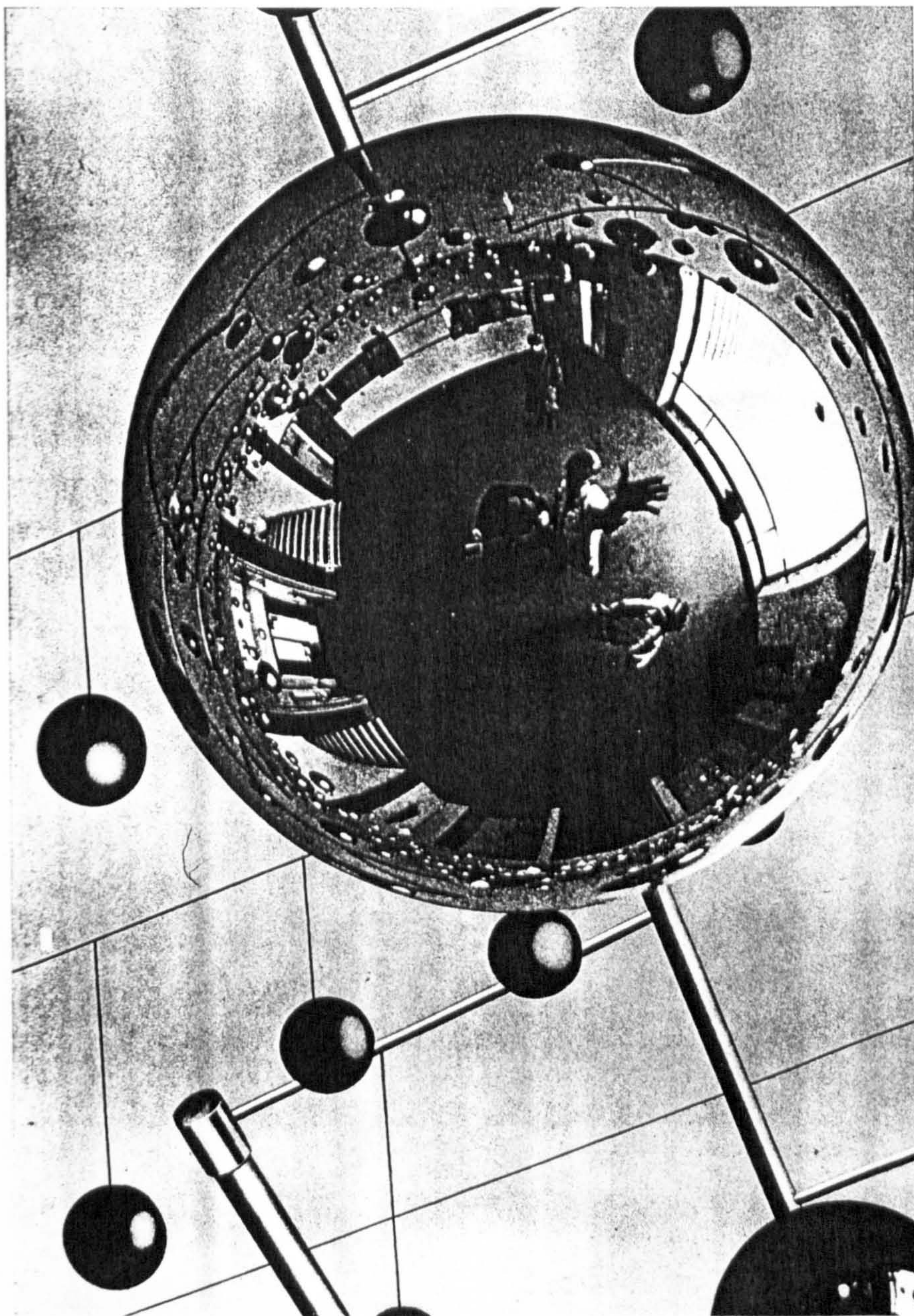
Lacking ur-historical models for an un-gendered society, gender differences could not yet be even symbolically erased. Instead, utopian gender relations

were symbolised by a ritualised masochistic masculinity and medieval models of fraternity. This ritualised enactment of masochistic corporate brotherhood externalised and deferred 'the void at the heart of being' which war had made visible. Such fantasies created a symbolic threat to the social order of conservative Weimar and led to ostracism of the Bauhaus community. During this period students also experimented with bodily appearance that challenged class and gender categories. The greatest number of women entered the Bauhaus, the result of legislation giving women equal access to education.

The second phase of Bauhaus social identity, 1924—1928, was associated with economic recovery in Germany. Masculine identity, cultivated by Bauhaus publicity, adopted the iconography of business ('the artist of today should wear conventional clothing') and mechanisation (the automaton of Bauhaus theatre). The equality promised by medieval brotherhood transformed into a celebration of the mechanical aesthetic and the equivalence of the industrial being. Unlike in the previous era, these representations, and in particular those of the Bauhaus theatre, acknowledged the 'void at the heart of being' as a starting point for a new mechanical identity. However, like the previous phase, although such appearances appeared to say 'no to power', they still only did so as an image and still, in part, used traditional forms. The romantic ego still survived. Gender identity, however, ceased to be an issue because conventional masculinity formed Gropius' preferred, if seemingly neutral, universal model for the artist; the dominant fiction of masculinity once again surfaced.

In the third phase of the Bauhaus, 1928—1930, the alliance with the state and industry came to fruition. This was the period of the transformation of the symbolism of the dialectical image into practice. The Bauhaus, reorganised to intervene in mass-production and mass-consumption, enacted, in part at least, the promise of a classless society of the previous two phases. The school once again practised an 'open door' policy for admissions and extended teaching beyond the confines of the school to the building site and the factory. The school rejected both high art ('necessities not luxuries') and professional elitism ('the 'architect 'is dead'). The building department finally opened and the theatre closed down. Mechanical man became the mass-producer and consumer of Fordism and his Oedipal origins continued to be invisible. This period was short-lived. The Bauhaus' transformation of aesthetics into politics, allied with social upheaval following the Wall Street Crash, made the school, once again, into a symbolic threat and Meyer was asked to resign.

The fourth phase, from 1930 to 1933, onwards, consisted of the return to convention and a re-enactment of normative social relations. The return to formalism paralleled the aestheticisation of politics under the National Socialists. Meyer's educational model, focused on mass-production and, to a lesser extent, on mass-consumption was erased from Bauhaus history. The Bauhaus returned to the production of dream-images. However, the utopian impulse remains in Bauhaus images as a potential for the present. It is therefore important to examine the legacy of the Bauhaus before evaluating its relevance to architectural education today.



Links:
Walter Funkat: Das Vestibül des Bauhaus-Gebäudes mit den Dekorationen zum »Metallischen Fest«, gespiegelt in einer der von der Decke herabhängenden Metallkugeln. Photographie. 1929.

Rechts:
Lux Feininger: »Bauhäusler«. Photographie. Um 1928

Das Leben am Bauhaus war niemals von der Alltagsrealität isoliert; während der Ära Meyer hat sich in ihm mehr denn je seit der Gründungszeit die allgemeine Geschichte, die politische und die wirtschaftliche, reflektiert. Die Studierenden waren für die Tagesprobleme aufgeschlossen. Politische Gruppen mit vorwiegend sozialistischer Tendenz bildeten sich innerhalb der Studierendenschaft. Leidenschaftlich wurde über die verschiedenen Weltanschauungen debattiert. Die beginnende Weltwirtschaftskrise verschärfte das Aufeinanderprallen der Meinungen. Die Erhaltung des Hausfriedens wurde zu einem Problem. Trotz mancher Mißstimmungen hat eine mitreißende jugendliche Frische das Leben am Bauhaus charakterisiert. Mit munterer »Subjektivität« wurde es aus der neuen photographischen Sicht festgehalten; am Bauhaus war, wie man sich selbst ironisierend bemerkte, so etwas wie eine »Photographitis« ausgebrochen.

12.0 Walter Funkat, vestibule of the Bauhaus building with decorations from the 'Metallic Festival', 1929

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12.1. Images as Simulacra

If we are starting to dream again, today especially, of a world of sure signs, of a strong 'symbolic order', make no mistake about it: this order has existed and it was that of a ferocious hierarchy, since transparency and cruelty for signs go together.

Jean Baudrillard (1983, 84)

The Bauhaus played an important role in the culture of simulation. Its curriculum provided an educational and practical model for integrating signs of mass-production with signs of art. Marketing, sales exhibition and publication became as important as prototype production. Bauhaus publicity shows that the school entered the image economy of simulation at the same time as, and not after it made its well-documented innovations in prototype design and production. Its embrace of image reproduction began well before the 1938 MoMA exhibition. The work of Bauhaus masters was first published in 1921. In 1923 the first public exhibition of Bauhaus work took place with an associated printing of a catalogue and book. The event and publications received important if limited international attention. The school's extensive documentation of curricular activity, exhibitions and marketing, although initially generated by local political battles fought in the media, created a powerful Bauhaus aura and after-life through international exhibition and mass-publication.

Already in 1921 the Bauhaus was emerging as a media school operating within an image economy based on the circulation and exchange of signs. If the Bauhaus has become well known for its innovations in design for mass-production, this is largely because it was so successful at publication and marketing. This, rather than the school's innovations in production, made and maintained its international reputation, benefited the careers of its leading figures and established the Bauhaus as a model for design education. Yet it also created an image of the school associated too strongly with aesthetic innovation alone.

The over-emphasis on aesthetic innovation at the Bauhaus was indeed a fiction. The Bauhaus tried to create more than the design of new aesthetic forms; it tried to turn art into life by working with new social, economic and gender relations. This strategy, however, was too radical. It formed a serious threat to the dominant fiction and the school's experiments were short-lived. Had life and art really been made interchangeable, then such efforts should have succeeded. They did not.

Instead, life was turned more safely into art. Everyday forms were abstracted through design classes such as those of Itten, Albers and Kandinsky, and reproduced through exhibitions and publications. This formed a new kind of realism. Such directed transformations of life into art ultimately eventually became a new form of academicism—represented by the veneration of Bauhaus masters and Gropius himself. As masters and archive moved to the USA, Bauhaus images aligned with the taste culture of the mobile, international middle class which the emigrés joined.

Ultimately, simulation at the Bauhaus was not simulacral enough because the irreverence of the simulacrum for any form of authenticity or hierarchy was intolerable both within and outside the school. The simulacrum was too anti-élitist. The Bauhaus did not, therefore, produce true simulacra. Instead, political, economic and social hierarchies limited Bauhaus designs, transforming simulacra into dream-images and dialectical images. Bauhaus designs 'dreamt' of a lack of division between art and life but could only achieve a partial escape from élitism. The Bauhaus design philosophy was able to break down some disciplinary boundaries, in particular those between art and craft, architecture and the arts, science and architecture, and art and business, which had already been challenged by the German art reformers.

The Bauhaus circulated ideologically laden dream-images of new objects, spaces, rituals and symbolic figureheads. These addressed a new kind of audience—the international consumers of architectural publications. No other school embraced the ideological potential inherent in image reproduction with the same breadth, intensity and focus. Immersion in mass imagery underpinned Bauhaus design pedagogy, production, marketing, spatial organisation and collective consciousness. These were important initiatives which are still relevant today. However, the school had to serve middle-class political and economic interests to survive, first in Germany and then in the USA. The true political, economic and social potential of integrating education and production, and reinterpreting gender identities remained unfulfilled.

Today, despite their familiarity, the iconic mass-representations of the Bauhaus still symbolise that potential. They remain latent political symbols, post-Fordist products and icons of gender, representing utopian desires for social mobility, material abundance and gender equality. They show that images as simulacra hold a double potential. First, the simulacrum challenges hierarchy by denying its origin in a truth or reality, provoking hierarchy to display its necessary foundation not on truth, but on unequal power relations. Second, once the simulacrum becomes codified and used to support particular economic and social ends, it ceases to be a simulacrum—it becomes ideological and therefore itself contestable.

The Bauhaus used the principle of the simulacrum to challenge received categories of objects, spaces and social relations. This, in my view, forms the first part of a critical design strategy using mass-produced imagery. The subsequent transformation and codification of simulacra into commodity signs with specific economic and social ends re-established a reality beneath simulation. Images became contextual, historically and geographically located. They became political. This forms the second part of a critical design strategy using mass-produced imagery. This dual strategy resembles the combination of Surrealism and Dadaism, psychoanalysis and Marxism, free-association of collage and directed juxtaposition of montage adopted by Benjamin in his *Arcades Project*. Operating within the logic of consumption, this dual strategy of image deployment is as appropriate today as it was in the days of the Bauhaus. This is the first lesson of the Bauhaus.

Goethe in „Wandermann und sein Jahrhundert“ das Evangelium der Humanität verkündet, so liebt er sich wieder als eine ganze Natur an, die in sich abermals einen Gipfel hervorbringen hat. Dazu steigert er sich, indem er sich mit allen Vollkommenheiten und Tugenden durchdringt, Wahl, Ordnung, Harmonie und Bedeutung aufruft und sich endlich auf dem Gipfel des Kunstwertes erhebt.“ So hatte sich er getan. Doch über das einzelne Werk hatte er sein Leben zum Kunstwerk erhoben. Vom Kunstwerk seines Lebens galt nun, was er damals dem einzelnen Kunstwerk anerkannte: „Steht es in seiner idealen Wirklichkeit vor der Welt, so bringt es eine dauernde Wirkung, es bringt die höchste hervor; denn indem es aus den gesamten Kräften sich geistig entwickelt, so nimmt es alles herrliche, Verehrnswürdige und Liebenswürdige in sich auf und erhebt den Menschen über sich selbst, schenkt seinen Lebens- und Tatenkreis ab und verachtet ihn für die Gegenwart, in der das Vergangene und Komende beirrt ist.“ Von solchen Gefühlen wurden die Erantzen, die den olympischen Jupiter erblickten, wie wir aus den Beschreibungen, Nachrichten und Anekdoten der Alten uns entwickeln können.“

Am August 1829 erscheint der größte polnische Dichter Adam Mickiewicz mit seinem Freunde, dem Dichter Anton Eduard Adamec in Weimar. Wir warteten halblaut sprechend beinahe eine Viertelstunde. Adam Mickiewicz trat ob mit dem Herz pochte. In der Tat war das eine Erwartung wie die Erwartung einer übernatürlichen Erscheinung. Da hörten wir oben Schritte. Adam nickte mit Nachdruck den Vers aus „Kateris Eisa“ man hört ein Gehen und ein hohes Schreiten — und kaum, daß wir uns zu diesem im Augenblick stehenden Satz erkundeten, öffnete sich die Tür und herein trat — Komiser! Mir wurde heiß. Und ohne Überdehnung es ist etwas Jupiterhaftes in ihm. Der Mucha hoch, die



12.2. Images as Political Symbols

... in this concert, one ideological State Apparatus
certainly has the dominant role, although hardly anyone lends an
ear to its music; it is so silent! This is the School.

Louis Althusser *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses* (1971, 29)

The Bauhaus produced critical design strategies for transforming mass-produced objects and images into symbols of a classless society. However, and far more importantly, it used such symbolic content to experiment with individual and collective identity. Unlike contemporary architectural education, Bauhaus education overtly assumed control of the body and perception of the architecture school. The 1938 catalogue forms an important example of such control. The catalogue represented, through images, a dream-memory of the school's lived habitus in Weimar and Dessau. It also constructed a new habitus—for a new, virtual architectural institution. Constructed through mass-reproduced images for an international dreaming collective of architectural consumers, depictions of the school's spaces, objects, texts and human beings carried the utopian content of Bauhaus dream-images across space and time into new contexts. The 1938 exhibition became the focus through which this virtual institution was defined, but the catalogue's photographs, typography and, to a lesser degree, text also produced a second, virtual and unconscious habitus whose meaning was to be constructed by the reader. It has remained an influential publication.

The Bauhaus catalogue represented, through reproductions, an image of a total environment within which not only architecture and artefacts, but also people were transformed. The real, lived Bauhaus had used pedagogy, space and recreation to invent a new kind of teacher and student. The economy of mass-signification, emerging out of a conflation of art and everyday life, required producers and consumers unable and unwilling to exercise traditional classifications of social behaviour and taste. Parts of the Bauhaus curriculum, including Itten's *Vorkurs* and the Bauhaus theatre, and the school's extra-curricular rituals enshrined a new human ideal. Such new producers and consumers of design would be able to recognise and appreciate the new forms of cultural capital symbolised by them.

The reconstruction of collective identity at the Bauhaus began with the ur-historical appeal to medievalism and mysticism associated with Itten, continued with the symbolisation of technology championed by Gropius and ended with the model of the designer as neutral public servant under the leadership of Hannes Meyer. In the Meyer era, with the closing of the theatre workshop, the collective was directed away from fantasy and into actual design and building practice serving the mass-consumer. The overt imposition of a singular and neutral model of identity meant that the potential for negotiated and fluid gendered social practices was lost. The 1938 catalogue has little information about the first, a great deal about the second, and none about the third phase. The privileging of the second phase elevated the theatrical automaton as the role model for identity, but retained the principle of play in its construction. The image of the collective became

gender-neutral but the process of its construction still affirmed Imaginary fantasy and therefore, in part at least, a 'non-phallic' process.

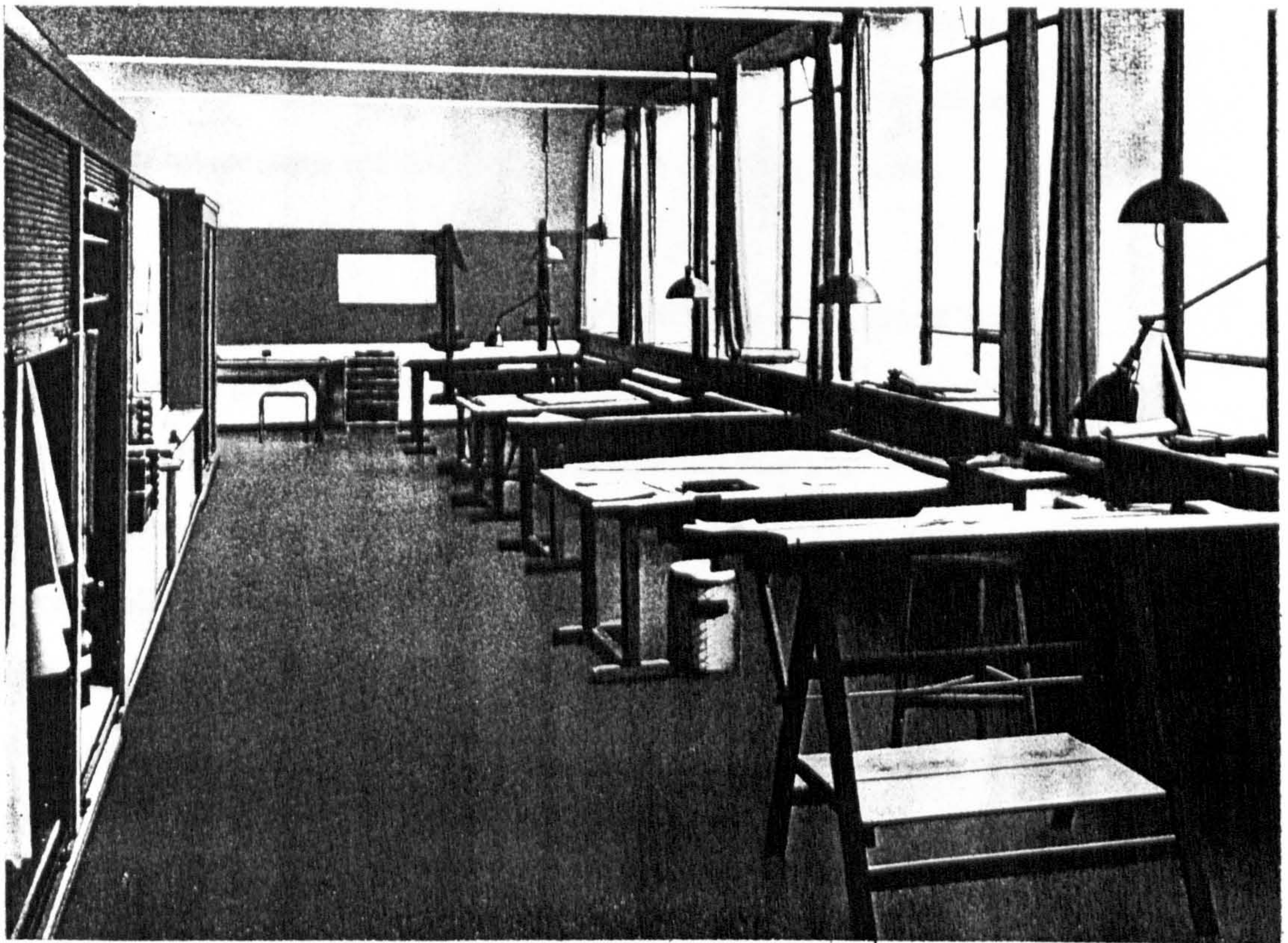
In terms of Althusser's theory of ideology, the Bauhaus was the first educational institution to introduce the idea of a design school as an international media apparatus operating within an economy and ideology dependent on the mass-reproduction of images. It established new design practices, new ideologies, new forms of cultural capital, new identities and a new habitus in design education. The Bauhaus' success as an educational model lay in its effective reproduction of a corporate identity encompassing not only the curriculum but also a wide array of other institutional mechanisms, including exhibition, publication and performance.

An important aspect of the production of corporate identity at the Bauhaus was its active involvement of students. Although sometimes this had awkward or even disastrous consequences, students made costumes, orchestrated festival and participated in the writing and performance of Bauhaus plays. The production of the habitus was, in part at least, a conscious experience for the entire Bauhaus community. This forms a crucial distinction between the Bauhaus and other schools, where forms of social behaviour and their values are seldom consciously addressed or left to the creativity of the student body.

There is yet another positive reading of Bauhaus images as political symbols. The 1938 catalogue cover shows art becoming life by combining the Bauhaus building, artefacts and above all, figures from the Bauhaus

theatre in a total environment. The scene acknowledges the reproduction of the habitus through fantasy and affirms its importance at the school. It constructs an identity for the Bauhaus which is difficult to imagine in a design school today. It incorporates human figures, architecture and theatre in a dream-image where architecture and art really do, for a moment, become life. It is, for me, an astonishingly powerful image.

The recognition that design education is not simply a means to produce commodified products but a process addressing the whole student, the whole institution and its people and spaces is the second important lesson of the Bauhaus. The 'living give and take' of the Bauhaus is a positive model for contemporary education, allowing students and teachers to see themselves as institution builders and agents of their own social transformation. Imagery plays a part in this but is certainly not the only available tool. Multiple strategies of fantasy apply, incorporating amongst others, language, form and space. However, although social relations can be symbolically reformulated within an institution, the constraints posed by a broader social context cannot be ignored. The Bauhaus failed to fulfil its potential because it was unable to balance experiment and realpolitik in extreme social conditions. Its example clearly shows that such experiments cannot remain autonomous but need to be strategic, relevant to and negotiated with the external world in multiple ways. They should be playful, political, critical and collaborative. In highly focused and politicised ways they should serve and at the same time challenge the dominant fiction. This is the second lesson of the Bauhaus.



12.3 Drafting room, Bauhaus Dessau, circa 1928

12.3. Images as Post-Fordist Products

[T]he problem of commodities ... [is] the central, structural problem of capitalist society in all its aspects.'

György Lukács (1971, 83)

The Bauhaus assimilated into education two key economies of the twentieth century—the mass-production of industrial products which Baudrillard associates with the Production order and the culture industry based on mass-reproduction of images which he associates with the Simulation Order. Recognition of their interdependence and the sustainance of production by consumption set the agenda for the Bauhaus. The school not only invented cheaper products through the integration of design and production technology, but also contributed to the re-education of the consumer by creating and codifying new desires and products.

The emergence of the mass-media between the First and Second World Wars, the emergence of flexible employment patterns during the 1918-24 economic crisis and again during the Depression after 1929 set the conditions for the emergence of post-Fordist production in Germany. More specifically, the internationalisation of trade and politics and overproduction created the conditions leading to the First World War and the crash of 1929, which had a dramatic effect on the fate of the Bauhaus. The Bauhaus' economic initiatives, including the shift from quasi-medieval workshop organisation to new media technologies including publication and

advertising were a response to the economic and political pressures of the period. They reversed the relationship between Fordism and post-Fordism at the school.

Economic crisis between 1918 and 1924 meant that production at first employed guild-like craft principles. However, the economic organisation of the Bauhaus workshops made them more post-Fordist than medieval in nature. Unlike the medieval guilds, the information produced and applied in the Bauhaus workshops had to widely publicised to produce economic and cultural capital. Unlike guild workshops, Bauhaus workshops relied on temporary, 'casualised' labour to research and develop new designs and had little monopoly in a highly competitive market. They had to cut production costs to succeed—the central core of administrators and fixed assets paid by the state, cheap student labour, short production runs and a highly effective publicity machine provided the competitive advantage of Bauhaus products.

Images at the Bauhaus became post-Fordist products in a number of ways. First, the production of images was linked to the stimulation of consumption. This took place through creative processes based on empathetic identification or Surrealist free association, typified by Itten's teaching methods in the *Vorkurs* or Kandinsky's formal exercises. These techniques marked the beginning of the colonisation of the unconscious on which contemporary post-Fordist advertising depends and to which Benjamin's theories so clearly yet critically respond. Through the intuitive studies of materials in the *Vorkurs*, the unconscious was harvested for its visual content and combined with the signs of available production and craft

technologies. Once brought to consciousness through drawing or discussion it was transformed into a reproducible product in the workshop and then marketed through the publications department, leading in some cases to actual mass-production. The Bauhaus also fully endorsed empathetic projection and free-association through extra-curricular activity.

Post-Fordism preceded Fordism at the Bauhaus. Fordist mass-production and organisation emerged at the Bauhaus only in the later Gropius years and the Meyer era and was only ever partially realised. The small scale of the workshops limited the extent to which the school could intervene in mass-production. Instead the school focused on the transformation of mass-consumption through design and advertising, and over time built partnerships with state and industry that made larger construction and manufacturing projects possible. Perhaps without the 1929 crisis and associated political problems at the school, the Bauhaus may have developed long term collaborative initiatives with industry that would have created a function similar to a research and development department of a corporation. After 1929 renewed economic and political crisis prevented such initiatives.

Whilst the Bauhaus followed the economic imperatives generated by its historical context, it also instituted new if embryonic economic practices. The partial sharing of profit between the Bauhaus business, the school and the students and masters in the workshops allowed students in particular to earn some income. The school was not simply a mechanism for the production of commodity signs but an institution that attempted to revise, in

part at least, economic relations. Economic crisis provided both opportunities and limits for such change at the school.

The Bauhaus formulated new relationships between designers, architects and the public. The Bauhaus also saw education as practice. It formed its own company and initiated systems of production that anticipated elements of the post-Fordist economy today.

As a business it experimented with new forms and prototypes for mass-production and relied on income from licenses and sales. It designed and licensed objects for mass-production and everyday use. It designed and supervised the construction of public housing and other municipal buildings and produced prototypes for low-cost housing. It introduced advertising as part of the design curriculum and used it for marketing purposes.

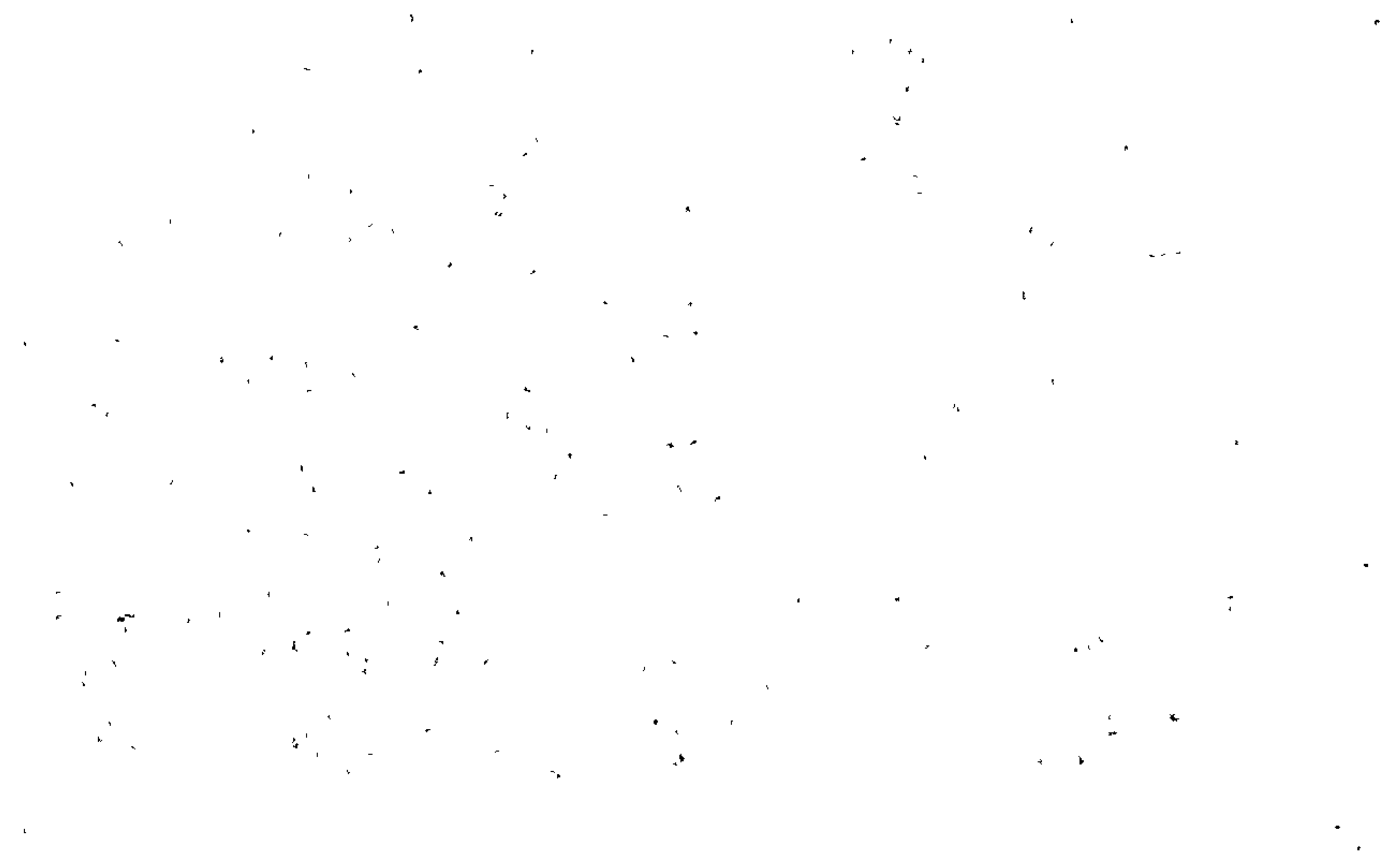
These fiscal and managerial innovations at the Bauhaus remain relatively undocumented in Bauhaus histories, allowing the school's contribution to education to be seen largely as aesthetic innovation and systematisation. Baudrillard's theorisation of the school's activities is emblematic of this attitude and clearly stands as a simplistic sign covering over complex realities. If the cover of the 1938 catalogue forms a powerful image of the school's unrealised utopian agenda, then the soberly designed invoices for Bauhaus GmbH (ill. 10.2) represent the equally overlooked practical achievements of the school.

The Bauhaus introduced economics into education, constructing new forms of production, pedagogy and identity suited to the age of mass-media and mass-production. It was the only educational institution to establish a practical outlet and marketing strategies for the activities of the European modern movement. This too remains unacknowledged. The Bauhaus provided the modern movement with an institutional mechanism for the long term production and reproduction of its cultural capital. It is hardly surprising that most of the school's leading figures (Gropius, Albers, Moholy-Nagy, Hilbersheimer, Mies, Breuer, Bayer) became successful teachers.

The Bauhaus should therefore be seen not merely as a laboratory of signs but as an institution where experiments in form, space, iconography and identity were directly linked to the emergence of new economies. The mass-production of objects and the mass-consumption of images between them provided the agenda for the Bauhaus' construction of new forms of economic and cultural capital.

The dream-images produced by Bauhaus typography workshop, theatre and festivals are therefore as much post-Fordist products as the objects produced in the workshops. They were not the results of autonomy. Yet the Bauhaus did not merely carry out the orders of its state paymasters. Instead, it created images, products and identities, sometimes too playfully or confrontationally, within the constraints posed by the school's social, economic and political context. The school understood and clearly acknowledged (ill. 10.0) the complex economic and political alliance

between education, industry and the state without losing its ability to imagine an alternative. This is the third lesson of the Bauhaus.





12.4 Bauhaus masters, left to right: Josef Albers, Hinnerk Scheper, Georg Muche, László Moholy-Nagy, Herbert Bayer, Joost Schmidt, Walter Gropius, Marcel Breuer, Wassily Kandinsky, Paul Klee, Lyonel Feininger, Gunta Stölzl, Oskar Schlemmer, undated

12.4. Images as Icons of Gender

To effect a large scale reconfiguration of male identification and desire would, at the very least, permit female subjectivity to be lived differently than it is at present. In my opinion, it would also render null and void virtually everything else that commands general belief. The theoretical articulation of some non-phallic masculinities would consequently seem to be an urgent feminist project.

Kaja Silverman Male Subjectivity at the Margins (1992, 3)

The shift of the Bauhaus to a media apparatus heralded a new dominant fiction of the professional as worker, whose creativity was dissociated from sexuality, race or class, whose authority was consolidated through an institutionalised representation of 'lack', but who remained, in practice, a masculine figure dependent on the hierarchy of patriarchal relations. The Bauhaus produced a corporate identity for its products *and* for its producers by extending the reproduction of an architectural unconscious beyond the curriculum to social activities and publication. It used space, clothing, images, pedagogy and play to experiment with and ultimately reject new icons of gender.

The role of educational and extra-curricular rituals in the construction of collective identity at the school forms, for me, the most fascinating part of Bauhaus history. I do not see it as a trivial aspect of the school's legacy and am very grateful for the research that made the collection of personal

reminiscences of Bauhaus staff and students possible. These reminiscences give life and meaning to dream-like images such as that of the 1938 exhibition cover. Whilst such reminiscences also partially underpin the reproduction of the Bauhaus myth of unalienated brotherhood, they document the processes through which masters and students participated in the social production of their institution. The reminiscences allow the documentation of the less conscious aspects of this process to be preserved, studied and understood. Institutions without the mythical status of the Bauhaus would not have been able to gather information of this kind with the same legitimacy.

We can only begin to construct an adequate theory of this aspect of Bauhaus history today, with the availability of psychoanalytic, sociological and gender theories that link institutional structures to occupational, class and gender divisions. Feminism has shown that the personal is political and that often private settings are the most effective sites for reproducing social relations. Feminism's recognition of the importance of the personal and collective unconscious to social consciousness and institutional formation is crucial to this dissertation. It helps to explain the power of education not merely in the conscious acquisition of knowledge but in the unconscious transmission of the dominant fiction.

In the dominant fiction of patriarchy images ensure social cohesion through safe, iconic representations of gender. War shatters this cohesion. The aftermath of war allowed Bauhaus images to act, for a time, as challenges to gender stereotypes. The dissolution of inherited belief made the construction

of collective identity visible and available for change. Like other cultural organisations in Weimar Germany, the Bauhaus used Imaginary fantasy to re-present a new fiction of masculinity. The representation of 'lack' in Schlemmer's theatrical automaton paralleled Gropius' belief in the importance of the lived experience of 'lack' at the heart of masculinity. Masked automata represented the Bauhaus on the cover of the 1938 catalogue. This highly symbolic presence of the new beings is perhaps why I continue to find that image so compelling. However, as I have shown, in practice the representation of 'lack' was stereotyped into the icon of the suffering artist and was only validated as a role model for male students. It excluded women entirely and imprisoned men within a stereotype.

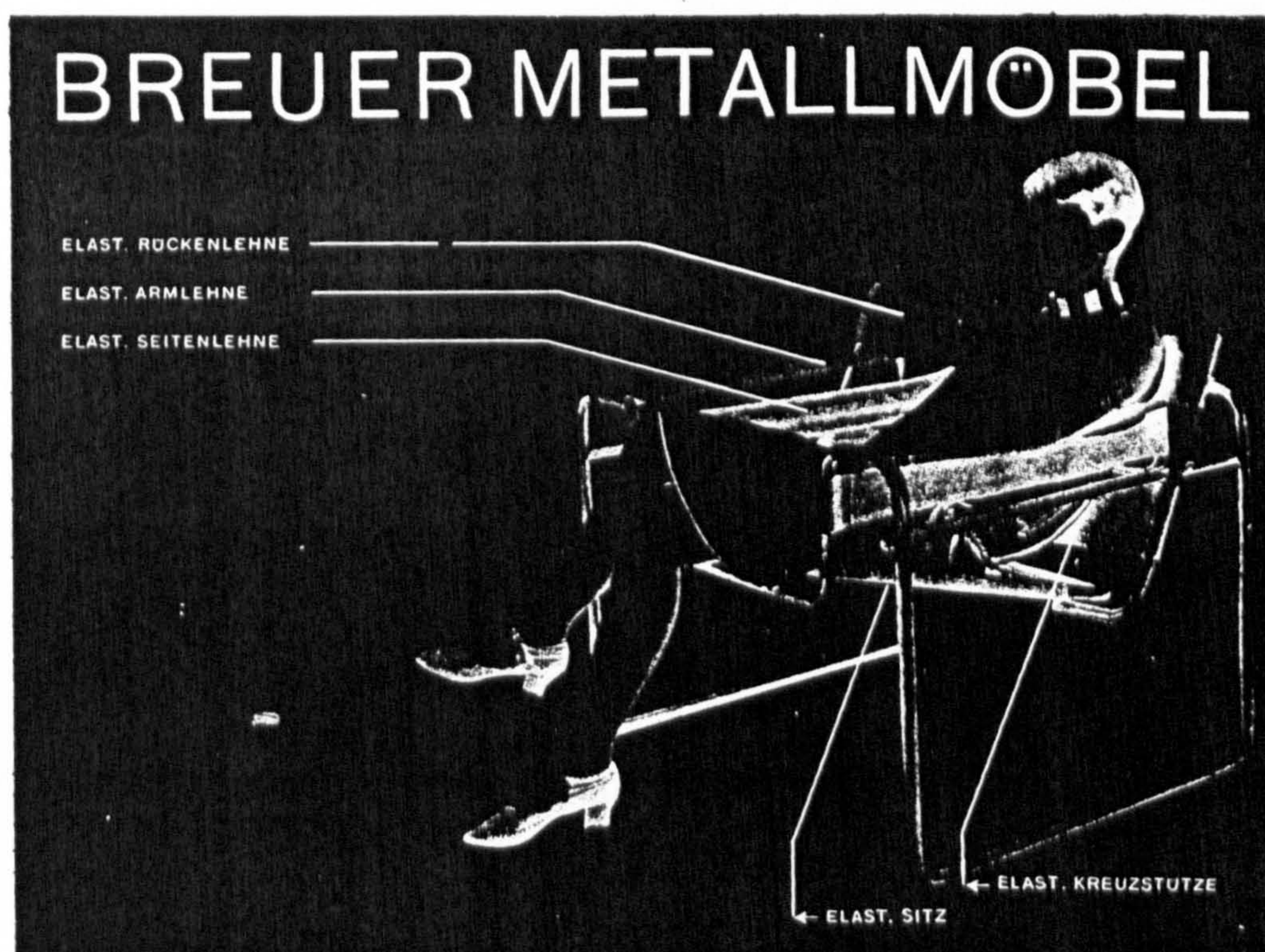
There are, however, important and positive lessons to be learned from Bauhaus experiments with the dominant fiction. Desire born of uncertainty was used playfully to construct new symbolic relations. The theatre's affirmation of lack not as fundamental truth but as theatre, as structured, collectively produced fiction, made it very different to Itten's masochistic rituals or Gropius' essentialism. In the institutional validation of the theatre as an important, formal part of the curriculum and its emphasis on play lay the foundations for the unconscious reconstruction of collective identity in the Bauhaus festivals. The festivals' affirmation of fluid identity was more powerful than that of the theatre, because it placed control of identity further within the students' realm, allowing them to create their own social forms. Social forms were associated with strong formal expression and recognised as having formal structures. Songs, dance, haircuts, costumes, masks and objects therefore all became part of experiments with form. Festivals

allowed identity to be played out without seamlessly reinforcing the Oedipal Order. It is hardly surprising that so many Bauhaus students found the festivals the most memorable part of their Bauhaus days, recalling them fondly and placing their significance on par with the teaching process itself.

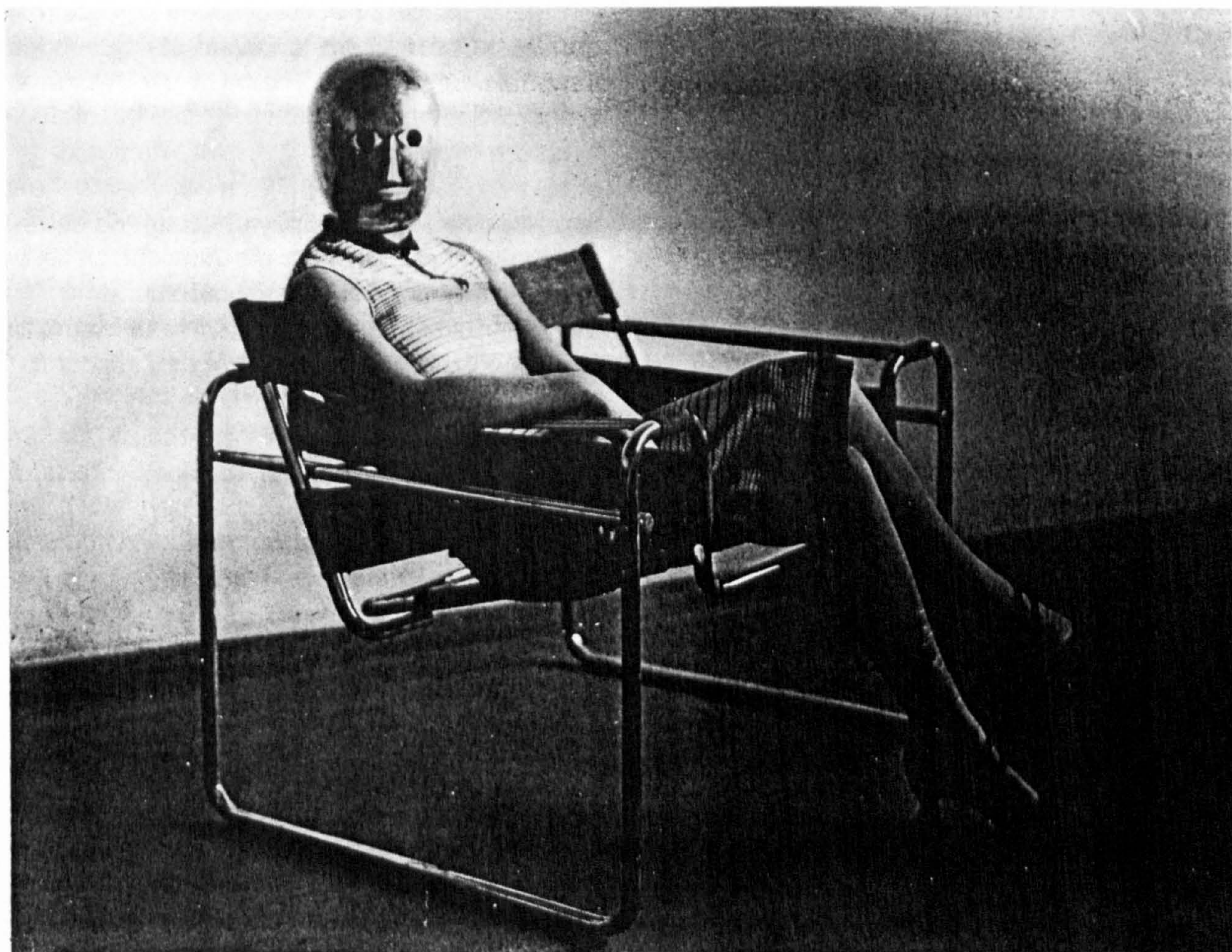
The Bauhaus' internal mirror of 'self-recognition', so essential for the school's ideological survival in the post-war years, made visible, for a time, a fluidity and uncertainty of identity that few Weimaraners and ultimately also few Bauhaus members were willing to contemplate. The eventual departure of the Bauhaus from Weimar was in no small part due to the visible 'difference' that the school community presented through its bodily appearance and social behaviour. This new identity became the fetish onto which the citizens projected their deepest fears and uncertainties.

The return to the Oedipal order happened gradually and ran parallel to the return of social and economic stability. Gropius became the father figure of the school. Intuitively understood and reinforced by Herbert Bayer's graphic representation of Gropius and his wife in the 1938 catalogue, this role was also reinforced by the marginalisation of Itten, Meyer and Mies van der Rohe in Bauhaus histories. In the Bauhaus' after-life in the USA the identity of the designer and architect returned even more firmly to its middle class, masculine and gender-neutral image. Too threatening to the dominant fiction, the Bauhaus experiments in identity were marginalised and remain unfulfilled. Today, once again, the Bauhaus has come to represent objective and superior aesthetic discernment, not a critical social, economic or feminist programme.

Nevertheless, the achievements of the Bauhaus in reformulating social relations should not be underestimated. The school proposed, at a number of points in its short history, a clear vision of the relationship between education and society. It experimented with new forms of social identity. It briefly attempted to reconstruct gender relations. The Bauhaus did, for a time enact a (Silverman 1992, 3) 'theoretical articulation of some non-phallic masculinities'. Far more than the widely recognised reconstruction of teaching, Bauhaus experiments in identity formed a challenge to the patriarchal order. That is why, in the last instance, art could not become life. Icons of gender had to become gender-neutral and experiments in identity had to cease. The play of representations released and symbolised by mass-reproduction of imagery made the free-play of the simulacrum too powerful a threat to masculine authority. This is the fourth lesson of the Bauhaus.



13.0 Herbert Bayer, Brochure for Breuer's metal furniture, black and grey print, undated



13.1 Bauhaus student with a Schlemmer mask in Marcel Breuer's Wassily chair, undated

13.1 Imaginary Practices

Through fantasy, then, '*we learn how to desire*' .

Kaja Silverman Male Subjectivity at the Margins (1992, 6, author's italics)

The dissertation began with my concerns about the lack of critical responsiveness to image reproduction within contemporary architectural education. It led to my search for historical explanations and positive models for educational change. I have, I believe, partially achieved this aim. The history of the profession and its educational institutions has provided me with a broader explanation of the social, economic and cultural limits within which architects operate. The Bauhaus has shown me that in a short period of time spanning fourteen years it was possible for a school to produce new interdisciplinary educational models responding to my four concerns:

denying the division between high and low culture and therefore between architecture and the rest of society;

politicising image production;

broadening practical economic opportunities in the image economy ;

challenging professional and patriarchal stereotypes.

The Bauhaus provides important lessons about the opportunities and limits to educational change within these four areas. First, it introduced design methods responding to the emergence of mass-imagery, trying to unite high and low art. Second, it used images to transform social relationships within an educational institution. Third, it saw design education as an interdisciplinary practice with an economic role. Finally, it tried to alter the traditional masculine identity of the designer. The school was not equally successful on all fronts but its commitment to the potential of image reproduction was, and still is impressive. The lasting importance of the Bauhaus therefore lies not simply in its publicity machine and the institutional success of its figureheads, but in the continuing relevance of its interdisciplinary strategy in a post-Fordist consumer culture. My four concerns for contemporary architectural education can be therefore answered using the lessons of the Bauhaus:

education can and should formulate strategies incorporating mass-produced images and constituencies associated with them to fulfil its social contract with the profession and the public.

education can and should recognise images as political and create a critical awareness of their relation to social relations

education can and should research and test new practices in the image economy

education can and should provide new models for the professional.

In Chapter 12 I have outlined the lessons provided by the Bauhaus which suggest more detailed strategies for educational change. Their interconnectedness is very important. It shows that education is not autonomous and the desire to cross boundaries has practical advantages. This brings me to the second aim of this dissertation.

The second aim of the dissertation has been to establish, apply and evaluate a new theoretical model for the analysis of architectural education. The theories I have harnessed have allowed me to understand the complex relationship between mass-produced imagery, architectural education and the architect which I believe can be applied in further study.

In particular, Benjamin's and Silverman's theories provide analytical models explaining how images stimulate collective desire and at the same time normalise it in accordance with the values of the dominant class. Both Benjamin and Silverman believe that images hold utopian content. They provide a theoretical structure for critical practices within education incorporating unstructured creativity. Silverman sees utopia in terms of Imaginary fantasy—the moment when an individual can temporarily escape the Oedipal order, ignore social boundaries and revalue previously marginalised identities. The extraordinary experiments in curricular and extra-curricular activities at the Bauhaus provide examples of movement across social and disciplinary boundaries that resemble the possibilities offered by Imaginary fantasy and bear out Silverman's thesis. I think it

possible to use Imaginary fantasy in image production to cross boundaries dividing high from low architecture, aesthetics from politics, economics from education and other identities from the dominant one. Here the third and fourth aims of this dissertation come into play.

The third aim of the dissertation has been to provide new directions for architectural education as a practice. The final aim has been to reorientate the identity of the architectural professional. These two aims, are for me, interconnected. The Bauhaus shows that an educational institution can challenge and change, for a time, the traditional identity and practices of the professional. The Bauhaus introduced new practices—the making of exhibitions, advertising and publications—which responded to the emergence of the culture industry and the associated activities of modernist architects and designers. The Bauhaus provided a much needed ideological apparatus and habitus through which it created a new dominant fiction legitimising modernist design. This initially and intermittently served the state and, later, largely industry. Through the design of theatrical settings the Bauhaus allowed for experiments in social identity through a kind of living social programme. Here, however, the Bauhaus quickly returned to normative identity because its experiments were too threatening and clearly challenged the dominant fiction. The speed with which convention was re-established provides a useful warning for using education over-idealistically as a vehicle for professional and social change.

The Bauhaus also shows that change cannot take place in a cultural vacuum but relies on broader social support—that of the social contract. Architects

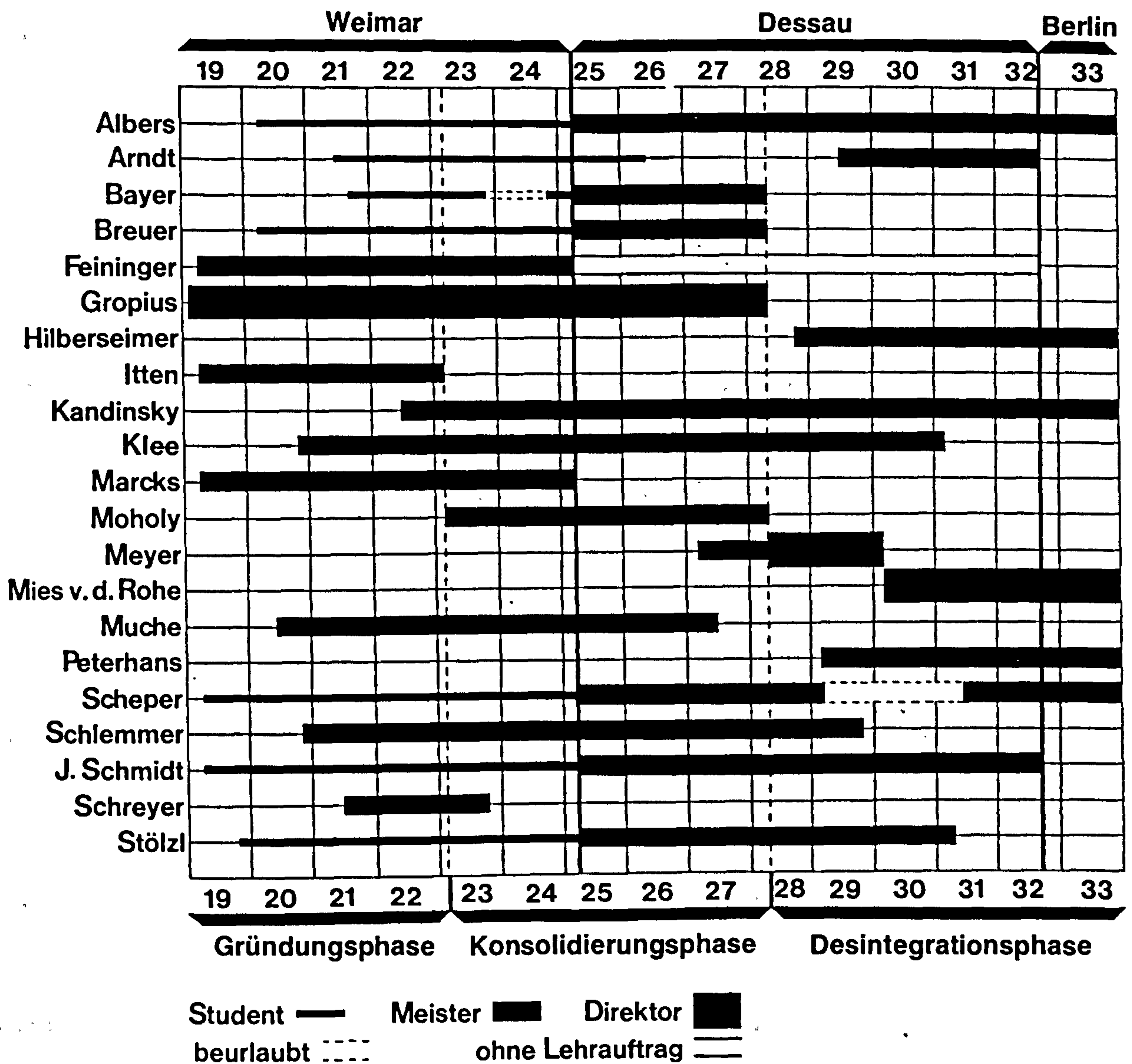
and designers are not autonomous. The social contract with the public must change before the practices and identity of the architect can. Thus the Bauhaus was able to create a new pedagogy, cultural capital, ideological apparatus, habitus and dominant fiction because this agenda had already been legitimised by German educational reformers. Only then could the nature of design practice in the arts, crafts and architecture change.

This shows that playful imagination alone is not enough to transform architectural education. The conditions that prevented Bauhaus dream-images from realisation in the inter-war period need to be understood, fought, avoided and, where appropriate, accepted. The critical political and economic analyses of Althusser, Bourdieu, Marx and others are crucial to such an understanding. These balance the work of Silverman and Benjamin. They suggest that further research and critical analysis is necessary to establish focused critical strategies for architectural education.

This research would need several components. First, a comprehensive history of architectural education in Europe and the USA is needed. Second, a history of the role of exhibitions, publications, film and television in the emergence of architectural modernism is needed. Third, a history of the reproduction of the architectural unconscious in the age of the mass-media is needed. Fourth, a critical economic history of architectural education and the profession is needed. Finally a feminist and post-colonial history of the architectural canon is needed. Such research would be a major undertaking, close in scale to the work of the *Annales* school.

As a more feasible project, additional research in these areas but focused on the Bauhaus would be helpful. Further study of the relationship between the Bauhaus theatre and other experiments in collective identity in the Weimar Republic is necessary to understand the factors limiting Bauhaus experiments. The role of festivals generally within German culture need study in order to understand the relative openness of the Weimaraners to this part of the Bauhaus experiment. The economic base of other German design schools such as the Reimann school and Burg Gebiechenstein needs to be studied to establish the degree of economic innovation at the Bauhaus. Finally, and it may already be too late, the reminiscences of more Bauhaus students, and in particular female students, need to be gathered to understand the subtle ways in which gender identities were transgressed and normalised through curricular and extra-curricular ritual. This has been difficult to do through written records because (understandably) the Bauhaus archive did not document it. It is also important to work in a similarly broad way to compare the Bauhaus to a contemporary architecture school working within the image economy. This would allow a better understanding of the specificities of the Bauhaus and the present-day.

Yet there is need not only for critical contemplation, but also for action. Strategies remain provisional until they are tested in practice. The most important lesson of the Bauhaus for contemporary architectural education is that it saw education as a site for action. In the introduction to this dissertation I have indicated the social contract of the architect is changing. In the conclusion I suggest that it is time to act.



9 Bauhaus-Chronologie, nach: Katalog »50 Jahre Bauhaus«, Stuttgart 1968, S. 26; erweitert um die Phaseneinteilung nach Kröll (1974)

B.1 Rainer Wick's chronology of Bauhaus masters

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